FBIS DAILY REPORT CONTENTS

Eastern Europe

Vol II No 222 *18 November 1981*

ALBANIA

- Reportage on 40th AWP Anniversary Rally B 1
  - Hoxha, Others Attend B 1
  - Defense Minister's Address B 1
  - Foreign Delegates' Greetings B 4
- Wreaths Laid for Martyrs on AWP Anniversary B 5
- ZERI I POPULLIT Editorial on AWP Anniversary B 5
- Briefs: Delegation to Turkey; New Ship Launched B 6

BULGARIA

- Zimbabwe Prime Minister Begins Official Visit C 1
  - Arrival 17 Nov C 1
  - Official Talks Begin C 1
  - Mugabe Receives Awards C 2
- Army Daily Comments on 'Bright Star' Maneuvers C 2
  [Mikhaylov in NARODNA ARMIYA 14 Nov]
- Communique, Treaty With PDRY Published C 3
  - Joint Communique C 3
    [RABOTNICHESKO DELO 13 Nov]

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

- Daily Says 'Strike Mania' Persists in Poland D 1
- Beginning of 'Bright Star' Maneuvers Reported D 1
  [RUDE PRAVO 16 Nov]

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

- Mittag Addresses Soviet Economists 13 Nov E 1
- Stoph Holds Talks With Hungarian Official E 1
  [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 13 Nov]
- Honecker Meets With PLO's Al-Wazir 17 Nov E 1
- U.S. 'Bright Star' Maneuvers Start in Mideast E 2
  [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 16 Nov]
- Peace Council Delegation Meets U.S. Counterparts E 2
  [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 13 Nov]
- Alfred Neumann Receives Mozambique Minister E 2
- Honecker Presents Award to UN Envoy Florin E 3
- West Berlin Man Detained as 'NATO Spy' E 3
  [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 12 Nov]
- Honecker Greets 37th British CP Congress E 3

HUNGARY

- Polish Peasant, Democratic Party Members Cited F 1
  [Kurti, Varro in MAGYAR HIRLAP 14 Nov]
- Frigyes Puja Meets With Ecuador's President F 3
- Havasi Visits Exhibition in Stuttgart 16 Nov F 3
- MSZMP Delegation's Kabul Visit 11-15 Nov Noted F 3
- Gaspar Comments on WFTU Congress, 1956 'Lessons' F 4
- Leaders Attend Science Academy Presidium Meeting F 4
  - Kadar Remarks F 4
- Losonczi Visits Interior Ministry, Hears Report F 5
- Briefs: New Ambassadors; Police Join Interpol F 5

POLAND

Government, Solidarity Hold Procedural Meeting G 1
- Working Teams Formed G 1
- Joint Communique on Talks G 1

Media Criticizes Solidarity 'Propaganda Campaign' G 2
- TV Commentary G 2
- Poster Campaign in Slupsk G 2

Lech Walesa Visits Oswiecim Workers 10 Nov [TRYBUNA LUDU 11 Nov] G 3

Reportage on Regional Strike Situation G 3
- Students' Strike Roundup G 3
- Radom School Senate Meets G 4
- Wroclaw Students' Strike Grows G 4
- Anti-Soviet Posters Criticized G 5
- Legnica Vendors Join Strike G 5
- Government, News Vendors Talk G 5

Poll Shows Declining Support for Strikes G 6

Private Farmers' Strike Negotiations Reported G 6

Rural Circles Declare 'Protest Readiness' G 7
- Farmers Protest in Swidnica G 8

Rakowski Interview: 'Front of National Accord' [ZYCIE WARSZAWY 14-15 Nov] G 8

Olszowski Interviewed on Press Dispute [SZTANDAR MLODYCH 13-15 Nov] G 13

Mokrzyszczak, Kociolek at Factory Conference G 18

Wozniak, Piotrowski at Talks on Sosnowiec G 19
- Explanations Demanded G 19

Zielona Gora Council Ends Local Situation Talks G 19
- Deputy Chairman Elected G 20

Sixth ZSL Plenum Reconvenes in Warsaw 17 Nov G 21
- Plenum Officials Elected G 21
- Resolution for 1982 Congress G 21

ZSL Official on Ustrzyki-Rzeszow Agreements [DZIENNIK LUDOWY] G 22

SD Official Urges Creation of New Tribunals G 22

TRYBUNA LUDU Views Internal 'Opposition' [11 Nov] G 23

Public Recognizes Need for Price Rises G 25

Production Difficulties Cause of Soviet Oil Cut [AFP] G 25

Katowice Voivoda Issues Appeal for Potatoes G 26

Flooding Reported in Slupsk Voivodship G 26

Glemp, Catholic Social Union Members Meet G 26

TRYBUNA LUDU: 'National Agreement Front' Needed G 26

Nationwide Militia Operation Against Criminals G 27

Polish-Soviet Friendship Society Work Approved G 27

Rakowski Chairs Meeting of Book Council G 28

U.S. Catholic Relief Service Donates Food G 28

Trade Figures With Developing Countries Reported G 28

ROMANIA

Strikes, Demonstrations Reported in Motru [AFP] H 1

Ceausescu, SFRY's Kraigher Exchange Toasts 9 Nov H 1
- Ceausescu's Toast H 1
- Kraigher's Toast [TANJUG] H 4

Further Reportage on PSI's Craxi 10-12 Nov Visit H 6
- 11 Nov Luncheon H 6
- Ceausescu's Toast [SCINTEIA 12 Nov] H 6
- Craxi Toasts Ceausescu H 7

Prime Minister Mugabe's State Visit Continues H 8
- Ceausescu Toasts Mugabe 13 Nov [SCINTEIA 14 Nov] H 8
- Mugabe Toasts Ceausescu H 11
- Talks Conclude 16 Nov H 13
- Ceausescu Gives Dinner 16 Nov H 14
- Mugabe Departs 17 Nov H 14

YUGOSLAVIA

Reportage on 22d Session of LCY Central Committee I 1
- Culafic Report I 1
- Central Committee Discussion I 7
- Milos Minic Speech I 22
- Discussion of 12th Congress I 24
- Decision on Elections I 25
- Report on Closing Session I 26

Terrorist Threat Intensifying in Kosovo [AFP] I 26

Hasani Gives Details of Kosovo Party Expulsions I 26

Hodza Made Honorary Citizen of Urosevac I 27

Briefs: Wheat Sowing I 27

REPORTAGE ON 40TH AWP ANNIVERSARY RALLY

Hoxha, Others Attend

AU081440 Tirana ATA in English 1317 GMT 8 Nov 81

["Grand Rally of the Working People of Tirana -- Comrade Enver Hoxha and Other Party and State Leaders Attend" -- ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 8 Nov (ATA) -- Today, a grand rally was organized in the "Scanderbeg" Square of Tirana on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Party of Labour of Albania and the successful conclusion of the proceedings of its 8th congress.

More than 120,000 working people of the capital came to this square with songs and dances, with enthusiastic acclamations, once more expressing their profound love for the Party of Labour of Albania with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, their steel unity round their party.

Prolong ovations burst out when the first secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA Enver Hoxha, Comrades Adil Carcani, Hajredin Celiku, Hekuran Isai, Kadri Hasbiu, Lenka Cuko, Manush Myftiu, Mehmet Shehu, Muho Asllani, Pali Miska, Ramiz Alia, Rita Marko, Simon Stefani, Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Cami, Llambi Gegprifti, Prokop Murra, Qirjako Mihali, the president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly Haxhi Lleshi and other comrades came amidst the people.

Present were also the representatives of the sister parties, which attended the proceedings of the 8th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania.

The rally was declared open by the first secretary of the Tirana District Party Committee, Gaqo Nesho.

Kadri Hasbiu, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania spoke at the rally.

Then greetings were read out by Raul Marko, member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain (M-L), in the name of the delegations of the Marxist-Leninist parties of Europe, the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Colombia (M-L) in the name of the delegations of the Marxist-Leninist parties of America; and Jack Lock, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of New Zealand in the name of the Marxist-Leninist parties of Asia, Oceania and Africa.

Defense Minister's Address

AU081415 Tirana ATA in English 1300 GMT 8 Nov 81

["Summary of Comrade Kadri Hasbiu's speech at the (8 Nov) grand rally in Tirana" -- ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 8 Nov (ATA) -- Today, our people, said Comrade Kadri Hasbiu, have two great celebrations: They celebrate the glorious jubilee of the 40th anniversary of the founding of their tested leader, the Party of Labour of Albania and the conclusion with success of its historic 8th congress.

It is here in Tirana that 40 years ago, in the night of November 8, Comrade Enver Hoxha and the Albanian communists, at the decisive moments, when the fates of the Albanian people were at stake, founded the Communist Party of Albania, which would lead our people in the greatest and victorious battles in all their history. As Comrade Enver Hoxha writes in his book with memoirs "When the party was born", it "emerged from the fold of the people, from their revolutionary fire and rage, which had not been extinguished in centuries, it rose like a shining sun in the horrible darkness of Fascist enslavement and terror that reigned over our people and homeland".

The more the time passes the more comes to the fore the incalculable importance of this event, which marked the greatest turning point in the Albanian people's centuries-long history full of struggles and efforts for freedom and independence, for the soil of their predecessors, for their legitimate rights as a people and nation, for their national language and culture, for their liberation from oppression, misery and sufferings, for social progress.

With the creation of the party, the people gave birth to the so much indispensable leadership, the line of which made them more conscious as to the taking of their destiny in their hands and that nobody could stop on the road they had chosen.

In less than three years after its founding, he continued, the communist party of Albania (today the Party of Labour), raising and leading the entire people in the glorious epoc of the anti-Fascist national liberation war, liberated the homeland from Fascist enslavement, led to the triumph of the popular revolution, established the new state power as the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat and introduced the country onto the road of socialism.

The achievements of genuine socialism being built in Albania in full compliance with the immortal teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, according to the great principle of self-reliance and in the conditions of a small country and of a savage imperialist-revisionist blockade, are a clear evidence of the invincible strength of Marxism-Leninism, of the vitality of socialist order, of the correct line and leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, of the firm determination of our people and their steel unity round the party.

After speaking of the rich balance of victories with which the Albanian party and people came to the 8th Congress of the PLA, the achievements of the 6th Five-Year Plan and the prospects opened by the 7th Five-Year Plan, Comrade Kadri Hasbiu underlined further on: The report of the Central Committee, submitted by Comrade Enver Hoxha and all the documents and decisions of the 8th congress, constitute a magnificent program of targets and tasks in our forward march in the socialist construction of the country and the further strengthening of the defence of the homeland, as well as in the struggle against imperialism, social-imperialism, reaction and modern revisionism. They are a consistent continuation, a further development and enrichment of the political line and Marxist-Leninist theoretical thinking of our party in the present-day internal conditions of our country and the international ones.

After pointing out the principles of the foriegn policy of our party and state for the future, defined at the 8th congress of the party, he stressed further on:

Being consistent to these principles, we have defended and will defend the rights belonging to our brothers living in their own territories in Kosovo, Macedonia and Montenegro, who constitute an ethnos, a people formed in centuries, a people who have their own history, language, culture, and who have fought uninterruptedly to defend its national identity and existence. We support them because we consider that their demands are just to liquidate the inequality and the economic backwardness, to develop national education and culture, to obtain the status of the republic in the framework of the Yugoslav federation. The Yugoslav authorities should stop the terror and persecution towards the Albanians and recognize them all the rights belonging to them.

The foreign policy of our party and state in the future, too, will be principled and it will be pervaded by the uncompromised struggle against U.S.-led imperialism, against Soviet and Chinese social-imperialism, against national oppression, racism and reaction, against the imperialist war, it will be pervaded by the unflinching and consistent struggle to expose modern revisionism of all hues, be it of Titoite, Khrushchevite - Brezhnevian, Chinese or Eurocommunist trend.

The principled policy, Lenin said, is the sole correct policy. And we always adhere to this teaching. But there are of those who lament that such a policy leads to the isolation of Albania.

When the imperialists and social imperialists spread such voices, we once again say to them that they hope in vain that socialist Albania will change its line and policy, that it will give up the principles and will loll under the umbrella of one or the other superpower. We do not believe in their fraudulent tactics, because we know them well what they are. We do not fear their threats, because a whole people stand on guard of our homeland, a people, who are closely united round the party and determined through to the end to bring about the failure of every adventure against Socialist Albania. They will never take us by surprise. We will never give up our independent policy, nor our struggle to expose before the entire world opinion, the dangerous oppressive, expansionist and aggressive policy of the superpowers which are heading the world towards a new general war. We will always enhance our vigilance, will never forget the situations in which we work and live and will always keep the powder dry.

We hear such voices for the isolation of Albania also from well-wishers who sincerely worry about its fates. In the same benevolent way, we say to them that there is no reason to worry.

Socialist Albania has not been and is not isolated. It has numerous friends and comrades. It maintains diplomatic, trade and cultural relations with a great number of states. Above all, Socialist Albania has consistently enjoyed and still enjoys the powerful support and solidarity of the world proletariat, the freedom-loving peoples, the progressive people and forces everywhere in the world. A vivid testimony to this is also the participation of the representatives of the Marxist-Leninist parties and groups from all the continents at the 8th congress of our party and at this rally. And these Marxist-Leninist parties and groups represent a great force, to which the future belongs, because the multi-million strong masses, who have risen and will ever more rise in struggle and revolution for national and social liberation, to put an end once and forever to any oppression and exploitation and for the construction of a new world. [sentence as received] Rally round the banner they have unfolded.

On behalf of our party and people, I once again wholeheartedly thank the Marxist-Leninist sister parties and organizations for the solidarity, aid and support they have given and continue to give to our party and country and which are a great source of inspiration and strength for us. I assure also our dear friends and comrades that the party of labour, socialist Albania and the Albanian people will always be on their side in the difficult, but glorious and heroic struggle they are waging and that they will always accomplish with honour their internationalist duty.

Further on, Comrade Kadri Hasbiu said: Along with the jubilee of the 40th anniversary of the founding of our Party of Labour, we also celebrate these days the 64th anniversary of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which triumphed under the leadership of the Bolshevik party headed by Lenin and Stalin. November 7 has been and is the great celebration of the working people the world over.

The Khrushchevite revisionists, who came to power after the death of the great Stalin, betrayed the cause of the October Revolution, liquidated the dictatorship of the proletariat and the victories of socialism in the Soviet Union, restored capitalism there and turned the state of the Soviets into a dangerous centre of the counter-revolution, into a social-imperialist superpower which aspires for world domination.

But the October ideas are always alive and cannot be subdued. Its banner, lowered down and trampled underfoot by the modern revisionists, has been raised and is kept aloft today by the Party of Labour of Albania and the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties. The spirit of the Red October is being felt and spread with each passing day in our time as well, when the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism has shaken this old and parasitic order and its offspring, modern revisionism, from their foundations, when the situations in the world are advancing towards the continuous revolutionization, when the revolution and the liberation struggle of the peoples have become a problem put forth for solution.

The cause of the working class and of the freedom-loving peoples, the great cause of the October Revolution will triumph.

With unshakable confidence in the correctness of the general Marxist-Leninist line of our party, with full confidence and determination in our own forces, Comrade Kadri Hasbiu said in conclusion: Let us mobilize all our mental and physical energies to carry into life the major tasks the 8th congress of the party laid before us.

Foreign Delegate's Greetings

AU081555 Tirana ATA in English 1400 GMT 8 Nov 81

[Text] Tirana, 8 Nov (ATA) -- Greeting the 8 Nov grand rally in Tirana on behalf of the delegations of the Marxist-Leninist parties of Europe, which attended the 8th Congress of the PLA [Party of Labor of Albania] Raul Marko, member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain (M-L) said among others:

We, the communists of France, Germany, Denmark, Great Britain, Portugal, Germany, Sweden and Spain want to express our complete support for the decisions endorsed by the 8th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania. These decisions open a still brighter future for our beloved Albania.

Your party emerged in struggle and came out victorious through great sacrifices. These have been 40 years of struggle and 40 years of victories.

When we notice your victories, he said further on, we have what to say of the Albanian miracle. We state that what you have achieved has been possible thanks to the great and continuous efforts of the women and men of Albania and, above all, thanks to the fact that you have a party, which at every moment has implemented Marxism-Leninism in a creative way. This is the real miracle of Albania.

I assure you that the Marxist-Leninist parties of Europe, together with the working class of our countries, will always be side by side with you.

Greeting on behalf of the delegations of Marxist-Leninist parties of America, the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Colombia (M-L), said among the other things:

Celebrating its 40th Anniversary the Party of Labour of Albania presents itself before its people and the whole world chin up and chest out, raising high the banners of triumphant socialism.

In the 8th Congress of the PLA we saw the great vitality of socialism, the unbreakable unity of the party with the outstanding Marxist-Leninist, Comrade Enver Hoxha. For our parties, this reality is a brilliant example and a powerful stimulus for the struggle we are waging in our countries.

On behalf of the Marxist-Leninist parties of America we once again express in this marked day our unreserved solidarity with Socialist Albania, with the glorious party of Labour of Albania and with its unbent people, who, undoubtedly, will score fresh ever greater victories. The unity between the PLA and the Marxist-Leninist parties of America, just as the unity of Marxist-Leninist parties of the world will become stronger in the joint struggle against all the enemies and reactionaries and against the revisionists of all hues.

Greeting in the name of the Marxist-Leninist parties of Asia, Oceania and Africa, Jack Lock, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of New Zealand, said among others:

I want to greet the 8th Congress of the PLA, led by its very beloved leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, as well as all the Albanian people. We congratulate you on this 40th anniversary of victories of socialism, as well as on these 37 years of the construction of a new, free society.

Compared with our countries Albania has been raised to very great heights. Our peoples suffer from the exploitation. In our countries, there is unemployment, inflation, growing price rise, at a time when the living standard falls. In some of our countries oppression is very savage.

But in all our countries, the struggle of the working class is intensifying. Demonstrations against nuclear stations in Japan, the demonstrations against the visits of racist sports teams to New Zealand, as well as many other strikes and clashes are to be found everywhere. In all our countries exist the Marxist-Leninist parties that fight for socialism.

May our Marxist-Leninist parites live together in fraternal unity, he said in conclusion.

WREATHS LAID FOR MARTYRS ON AWP ANNIVERSARY

AU081600 Tirana ATA in English 1405 GMT 8 Nov 81

[Text] Tirana, 8 Nov (ATA) -- Today, on the day of the glorious jubilee of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Party of Labour of Albania, homages were paid and wreaths were laid on martyr's graves of the homeland in the capital.

Attending the ceremony organised on this occasion were working people of work and production centers, members and relatives of the martyrs' families, militarymen, young boys and young girls.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania the wreath was laid by the secretaries of the Central Committee of the party, Hekuran Isai and Simon Stefani.

Likewise, wreaths were laid on behalf of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, the Central Council of Trade Unions of Albania and the other mass organizations.

Present at the ceremony organised on the occasion were Comrades Manush Myftiu, Pali Miska, Rita Marko, Llambi Gegprifti, Prokop Murra, Qirjako Mihali and other comrades.

During this ceremony the wind orchestra played funeral marches and the national anthem. Militarymen and Young Pioneers stood guards of honour.

On occasion of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Party of Labour of Albania, the delegations that attended the proceedings of the 8th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania paid homages and laid wreaths in the martyrs' graves of the homeland, today before noon. During the ceremony, the wind orchestra played funeral marches and the national anthem. Militarymen and Young Pioneers stood guards of honour.

ZERI I POPULLIT EDITORIAL ON AWP ANNIVERSARY

AU081202 Tirana ATA in English 0930 GMT 8 Nov 81

["The Albanian People Celebrate With Joy the 40th Anniversary of the Founding of the Party of Labour of Albania" -- ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 8 Nov (ATA) -- 40 years ago, at the very difficult times of Fascist occupation, the Albanian communists with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, founded the Communist Party of Albania (today the Party of Labour of Albania).

Today the Albanian people celebrate with joy the 40th anniversary of this remarkable event. The whole of Albania is in celebration. In the meantime the newspapers write about the glorious road traversed by the PLA during these 40 years.

In its editorial: "The Forces of All Our Victories", the newspaper "ZERI I POPULLIT" writes among others:

For the first time in their centuries-long history, our people gave birth to a sound leader, the Communist Party, which would bring them from darkness to light. Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the 8th congress of the party that "Forty years ago our people entrusted their destiny, the life and the future of the homeland to the Albanian communists. Our party justified their trust with its glorious work, with the triumph of the revolution and the creation of the new Socialist Albania". But, the newspaper writes, it was not easy to come up to here, it had to be fought [as received] the great anti-Fascist national-liberation war, the most glorious epic of our people. It had to be shed [as received] the blood of 28 thousand sons and daughters, who laid down their lives for freedom and independence and for better days with the name of the party on their lips. It had to be waged [as received] a fierce class struggle not only against the Nazi-Fascist enemies and traitors to the country, but also against other enemies, within and outside the ranks of the party, the Trotskyites, opportunists, saboteurs and agents of the bourgeoisie, the revisionists of all hues, the Yugoslav Titoites, Khrushchevites, Chinese, Eurocommunists, etc. Our party, the newspaper stresses, has never ceased its struggle against them and it will never do so. Without this, the freedom and independence of the homeland could not be ensured, the victories, the beautiful present and the brilliant future of Socialist Albania could not be safeguarded.

The newspaper writes extensively about the great victories the Albanian people have achieved during these 40 years under the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania and the radical transformations that have been made in Albania.

All our victories and achievements, "ZERI I POPULLIT" continues, constitute the historic experience of socialism in Albania. These and the whole revolutionary road of our party, its resolute struggle against U.S.-led imperialism and the whole reaction, its principled and consistent struggle in defence of Marxism-Leninism and against revisionism of all hues, for the triumph of the revolution, constitute its contribution to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism. The 8th Congress of the PLA was a brilliant manifestation of proletarian internationalism, the communist unity that units the Party of Labour of Albania with the other Marxist-Leninist parties.

The 7th Five Year Plan, the directives of which were approved by the 8th congress of the party, "ZERI I POPULLIT" underlines in conclusion, will open new horizons to the fast rate development of economy and culture, to the whole life of our country. The well-being of the people will further elevate and the defence of the homeland will be further steeled. A whole people with the party in the lead stand on foot to realize every task and to achieve fresh victories which will raise socialist Albania higher.

BRIEFS

DELEGATION TO TURKEY -- A delegation of the Academy of Sciences of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and of Tirana University left for Turkey to attend the international conference devoted to the centenial of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. The delegation is led by Prof Luan Omari, scientific secretary of the Academy of Sciences. [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 0630 GMT 8 Nov 81 AU]

NEW SHIP LAUNCHED -- With a feeling of pride, the workers of the Durres shipyard launched a new merchant ship, the "Kapiten Ahmet Luli," with a 5,000-ton capacity. This is the fourth ship of this kind to be built in the shipyard. [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 30 Oct 81 AU]

ZIMBABWE PRIME MINISTER BEGINS OFFICIAL VISIT

Arrival 17 Nov

AU171045 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 0945 GMT on 17 November carries a live relay from Sofia Airport of the arrival of Robert Mugabe, prime minister of the Republic of Zimbabwe and chairman of the African National Union of Zimbabwe. The announcer says that Comrade Todor Zhivkov approaches the plane and welcomes Robert Mugabe. The two leaders, the announcer says, are accompanied by a large group of journalists. At that point a military brass band is heard playing a march followed by the anthems of the two countries, and an army unit presents honors. Robert Mugabe reviews the army unit and salutes it. Todor Zhivkov then presents the following leaders attending the welcoming ceremony: Aleksandur Lilov, Grisha Filipov, Dobri Dzhurov, Ognyan Doynov, Peko Takov, Pencho Kubadinski, Petur Mladenov, Petur Tanchev, Stanko Todorov, Todor Bozhinov, Andrey Lukanov, Petur Dyulgerov, Stoyan Karadzhov, Georgi Atanasov, Stoyan Mikhaylov, Milko Balev, Vasil Tsanov and Chudomir Aleksandrov.

The two leaders also greet a number of citizens and a group of African students studying in Bulgaria. Afterwards they take the rostrum to greet the ceremonial march past of the army unit participating in the welcoming ceremony.

At that point the announcer says that Robert Mugabe and Todor Zhivkov will shortly leave the airport for the Boyana Residence, and the live relay from the Sofia Airport ends at 0951 GMT.

Official Talks Begin

AU171944 Sofia BTA in English 1833 GMT 17 Nov 81

[Text] Sofia, 17 Nov (BTA) -- Today Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP and president of the State Council, met Mr Robert Mugabe, prime minister and chairman of the Zimbabwe African National Union. Bilateral relations and topical international issues were discussed.

The situation in Africa was in the centre of the formal talks between Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Robert Mugabe which began after the meeting. The leaders of Bulgaria and Zimbabwe emphasized the need for immediate solving of the Namibian issue and granting independence to Namibia. They also reviewed the situation in other parts of the world and stood for taking active measures for disarmament and preservation of world peace.

Making a positive assessment of bilateral cooperation, Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Robert Mugabe stressed the existence of good possibilities for its furthering.

The following attend the talks on the Bulgarian side: Grisha Filipov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and chairman of the Council of Ministers; Mr Petur Mladenov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and minister of foreign affairs; Mr Ognyan Doynov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the BCP; Mr Milko Balev, BCP CC secretary and head of Mr Todor Zhivkov's cabinet; Mr Belcho Belchev, finance minister; Mr Khristo Khristov, minister of foreign trade; Mrs Panka Babukova, first deputy minister of education; and Mr Filip Ishpekov, deputy chairman of the Executive Committee of the Central Council of the National Agro-Industrial Union.

Zimbabwe was represented by: Mr Witness Mangwende, minister of foreign affairs; Mr Enos Nkala, minister of finance; Mr Frederick Shabva, minister of manpower, planning and development; Mr (Moses Mwenge), deputy minister of trade; and Mr (Sudein Mombeshora), deputy minister of lands, resettlement and rural development.

Talks go on.

Mugabe Receives Awards

AU171940 Sofia BTA in English 1840 GMT 17 Nov 81

[Text] Sofia, 17 Nov (BTA) -- Today Mr Todor Zhivkov decorated Mr Robert Mugabe, prime minister and chairman of the Zimbabwe African National Union, with the "Stara Planina" ribbon order. This high distinction is conferred for his services in the struggle for freedom and independence of the peoples of Zimbabwe and for developing the relations between Bulgaria and Zimbabwe and in connection with his official and friendly visit here. Mr Robert Mugabe was also decorated with the jubilee medal of "1300 Years Bulgaria" for his services for developing the relations of Bulgaria and Zimbabwe and to commemorate the 1,300th anniversary of the foundation of the Bulgarian state.

ARMY DAILY COMMENTS ON 'BRIGHT STAR' MANEUVERS

AU161517 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 14 Nov 81 p 4

[Article by Lyubomir Mikhaylov, BTA correspondent in Cairo, specially written for NARODNA ARMIYA: "'Bright Star' Maneuvers"]

[Text] The Pentagon has begun its largest maneuvers in the Middle East under the code name "Bright Star". They will continue for 4 months on the territory of four states -- Egypt, the Sudan, Somalia and Oman.

About 6,000 soldiers from the air force, naval and marine forces of the U.S. Army [as published], as well as the so called "Rapid Deployment Forces" are taking part in the maneuvers. They will have to acquire habits related to fighting in conditions characteristic of the Middle East and Persian Gulf. In the western Egyptian desert, not far from the border with Libya, bombardments by the strategic B-52 heavy bombers are taking place. Landings and other military operations are planned in Oman, Somalia and the Sudan.

Joining the choir of the U.S. mass media, Cairo presents the "Bright Star" maneuvers as a demonstration of the U.S. readiness "to defend its friends in the Middle East." However, public opinion in Egypt and other Arab countries cannot be deceived by spreading lies about the so-called "Soviet threat." Most of the Arabs understand that the danger does not come from the artifically fanned myths on the "Soviet threat," but from "Pentagon's long hand," as the Rapid Deployment Forces are called in the Arab world. The United States wants to conduct a policy of diktat in the area, utilizing the Rapid Deployment Forces. Therefore, the "Bright Star" maneuvers are being viewed by the Middle Eastern people as a new U.S. provocation against their sovereignty and security.

The main goal, pursued by those provocational maneuvers of the Pentagon, has several dimensions. First of all the maneuvers are a part of the adventurist policy aimed at expanding the U.S. military presence in the strategically important and oil-rich area of the Middle East. Washington has been conducting this policy for several years already. Such a policy not only reveals the intention of conducting aggression in case of "necessity." (This is how the Pentagon strategists are expressing themselves, having in mind future operations for defeating in some Middle Eastern countries, an area considered by the United States as its sphere of influence.) Washington's policy is also a means of exercising strong military and political pressure on the Arab states and the Palestinian resistance to accept unconditionally the U.S. plans and recipes on the Middle East. As is well known, these plans and recipes do not correspond to the Arab peoples' interests and aspirations. It is enough to mention that the "Bright Star" maneuvers coincide with the activated attempts of the United States, Israel and Egypt to fully implement by all means the Camp David agreement and the plan on the so-called "autonomy" of the Palestinian population on the West Bank of the Jordan River and the Gaza Strip, occupied by Israel.

The timing of the maneuvers also coincides with the forthcoming Arab summit, which will take place in Morocco at the end of November, and at which problems important to the Arab world will be discussed.

Following its hegemonist strategy in the Middle East, the United States relies on several states, on which it has already succeeded imposing some kind of "strategic alliance," in other words, the United States has turned these countries into some degree of supporters of imperialism and Zionism. Precisely these states -- Egypt, the Sudan, Somalia and Oman -- are most vulnerable to the U.S. policy of diktat. The U.S. behavior towards Egypt after the murder of Anwar as-Sadat is an example of this situation. Washington immediately utilized this event in order to bind Cairo even tighter in its "Middle Eastern chariot" and to secure the future use of the Egyptian military bases on the Suez Canal and the Persian Gulf. The participation of Egyptian units together with the U.S. soldiers in the "Bright Star" maneuvers confirms the fact that the new Egyptian leadership is rehearsing its role in possible acts of this sort, according to As-Sadat's "example."

The new attack of U.S. militaristic fever in the Middle East, which began with the "Bright Star" maneuvers, not only introduces an additional element of tension in this already nervous region, but also represents a continuation of the global course on exacerbating the international situation now characteristic of the United States in the Middle East and other world regions.

COMMUNIQUE, TREATY WITH PDRY PUBLISHED

Joint Communique

AU170827 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 13 Nov 81 pp 1-8

["Text" of joint communique on the visit of 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, secretary general of the Yemeni Socialist Party, chairman of the Supreme People's Council Presidium and chairman of the PDRY [People's Democratic Republic of Yemen] Council of Ministers, to Bulgaria from 9 to 12 November]

[Text] At the invitation of Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, secretary general of the Yemeni Socialist Party, chairman of the Supreme People's Council Presidium and chairman of the PDRY Council of Ministers, paid an official friendly visit to Bulgaria from 9 to 12 November 1981 at the head of the PDRY party and Government delegation.

The high-ranking guest laid a wreath and paid his respects at the mausoleum of Georgi Dimitrov -- the Bulgarian people's leader and teacher, the outstanding figure of the international communist and workers movement.

'Ali Nasir Muhammad visited economic projects, historical, cultural sites and monuments. He became acquainted with the Bulgarian people's achievements in building a developed socialist society. Wherever they went, 'Ali Nasir Muhammad and his delegation were accorded a warm and cordial welcome which was an expression of the Bulgarian people's friendly feelings toward the Yemeni people and of our people's solidarity with the Yemeni people's struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction.

Official talks, which proceeded in a cordial atmosphere, in a spirit of friendship and mutual understanding, were held between Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, secretary general of the Yemeni Socialist Party, chairman of the Supreme People's Council Presidium and chairman of the PDRY Council of Ministers. They reviewed the development of bilateral relations in the political, economic and cultural sectors and exchanged opinion on the most important and topical international issues.

The following officials participated in the talks on the Bulgarian side: Grisha Filipov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers; Petur Mladenov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of foreign affairs; Stoyan Karadzhov, chairman of the BCP Central Control-Auditing Commission; Milko Balev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee; Ivan Sakarev, member of the BCP Central Committee and minister of construction and architecture; Col Gen Atanas Semerdzhiev, member of the BCP Central Committee and first deputy minister of national defense, who is also chief of the General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army; Georgi Georgiev, deputy chairman of the State Planning Committee; and Atanas Samsarev, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to the PDRY.

The following officials participated in the talks on the PDRY side: (Ali Shaya), candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the Yemeni Socialist Party Central Committee; Salim Salih Muhammad, member of the Yemeni Socialist Party Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs; Haydar Abu Bakr al-Attas, member of the Yemeni Socialist Party Central Committee and minister of construction; (Yassin Said Nuaman), member of the Yemeni Socialist Party Central Committee and deputy minister of planning; (Abdulla Ali Aloue), first deputy minister of defense and head of the PDRY Armed Forces General Staff; Muhammad Haydarah Masdus, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PDRY to the People's Republic of Bulgaria; (Ahmed Abdurahman), counselor in the cabinet of the Yemeni Socialist Party secretary general; (Ahmad Abdul Rahman Basher), political counselor in the secretary general's cabinet; (Ali Ismail Saif), head of the socialist countries' section of the Yemeni Socialist Party Central Committee; and (Abdul Qasim Nadji), deputy head of the European socialist countries department at the PDRY Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The two party and state leaders briefed each other on the basic tasks which their parties and governments are now coping with in their countries' political, economic and social life.

'Ali Nasir Muhammad expressed his great appreciation for the Bulgarian people's successes under the leadership of the BCP, and in the implemention of the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress aimed at the further construction of a developed socialist society.

The Yemeni leader extended most sincere congratulations and cordial wishes to the Bulgarian people on the occasion of their jubilee -- the 1,300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state.

Todor Zhivkov expressed great appreciation for the successes achieved by the working people of the PDRY in the country's political, economic and social life, as well as in implementing the decisions of the Yemeni Socialist Party extraordinary congress aimed at consolidating the revolution and at strengthening the party's leading role. The Bulgarian leader reaffirmed the stand of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in support of the struggle waged by the PDRY against the plans and actions of the imperialist and reactionary forces, and welcomed the Yemeni people's resolve to pursue the struggle for social and economic changes, for the implementation of the strategic goals of revolution in Yemen under the leadership of the Yemeni Socialist Party. The first Bulgarian party and state leader declared that the People's Republic of Bulgaria is supporting the PDRY's efforts to achieve the unity of Yemen on a peaceful and democratic basis.

The two leaders ascertained with satisfaction that the relations of friendship and cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the PDRY are developing and are constantly being intensified in all sectors. Satisfaction was expressed also with the development of relations between the BCP and the Yemeni Socialist Party, and the mutual wish was confirmed further to intensify and develop these relations in the future. The need to expand further the relations and cooperation among mass organizations in the two countries was stressed.

The results achieved in recent years in the development of economic and scientific-technical cooperation, particularly in the sectors of trade exchange, construction, agriculture, etc, were positively evaluated. In this respect the important role played by the Joint Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation was stressed. At the same time, the two sides discussed the main trends of economic and scientific technical cooperation and mapped out specific measures for a further accelerated development on a long-term basis.

The important role of cultural relations for the further mutual acquaintance between the two friendly peoples was stressed.

The great importance of personal meetings between leaders of the two countries for the comprehensive development of bilateral relations was stressed. An agreement was reached to pursue the tradition of meetings and mutual consultations at the highest as well as at other levels.

A friendship and cooperation treaty between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the PDRY was signed during the visit of the PDRY delegation which is likely to ensure a solid basis for the further expansion of friendly relations and comprehensive cooperation between the two countries' peoples and for the further implementation of their common striving for peace, international detente, for social progress and for the consolidation of anti-imperialist solidarity.

The following documents were signed:

-- a protocol on the further development of economic cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the PDRY,

-- a trade agreement between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the PDRY for the 1980-85 period, and

-- a protocol of cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the PDRY planning organs.

The first leaders of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and of the PDRY reviewed the present international situation and stated with satisfaction that their two countries are sharing the same stands or have similar stands on the most important and topical world problems.

The two leaders expressed their deep concern over the deterioration of the international situation, which has occurred as a result of the actions of imperialist and reactionary forces, especially the actions of the United States, which are undermining the process of detente and are intensifying the armaments race, as well as endangering peace and security in the world.

The two sides denounced the decision to produce the neutron bomb as an overt provocation against worldwide public opinion, as an aggressive action and as an extremely dangerous new step leading to an intensification of the threat of thermonuclear war.

The two sides resolutely denounced the aggressive policy of the imperialist and reactionary circles and of their allies aimed at exporting counterrevolution, at liquidating the people's national liberation movement, at perpetuating the exploitation of the liberated countries, at interfering in the domestic affairs of sovereign states and at applying gross force, "diktat" and blackmail in international relations.

It was stressed during the talks that in the present complicated international situation, it is necessary to replace tension and confrontation with a dialogue on all international relations issues, a dialogue based on the principles of equality and equal security as well as on mutual respect for all countries' interests.

The two sides pointed out the need to consolidate the unity of action of the socialist community countries, the nonaligned countries, and the national liberation movements, to consolidate the joint struggle and cooperation of all anti-imperialist, progressive and peace-loving forces for peace and security, for universal and full disarmament, for detente in international relations.

The two leaders declared themselves in favor of preserving and intensifying detente in Europe, in favor of fully applying the principles of the final Helsinki document and in favor of constantly pursuing the process of consolidating security and developing cooperation, a process which began at the CSCE. In this respect, they expressed the hope that the Madrid meetring will be concluded successfully and stressed the particular importance of convening a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe.

The two sides think that the NATO decisions on deploying new U.S. nuclear medium-range missiles in Western Europe not only threaten peace and security on this continent but throughout the world. The two sides declared themselves against the attempts to disrupt the existing balance in the military sector and declared themselves in favor of settling this problem through negotiations. In this connection the two countries welcome the agreement reached between the USSR and the United States on beginning negotiations on nuclear weapons in Europe.

'Ali Nasir Muhammad expressed his appreciation for the consistent and constructive foreign policy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria aimed at strengthening peace and security in Europe and the world, aimed at transforming the Balkan Peninsula into an area of good neighborliness, understanding and cooperation, as well as his appreciation for the idea of establishing a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans, and for Comrade Todor Zhivkov's proposal to convene a high-level conference of Balkan states for this purpose, which should take place in Sofia, in 1982.

The two sides reviewed the situation in the Arab Peninsula and in the Persian Gulf. They confirmed the supreme importance of the question of transforming this area into a zone of peace. The two sides resolutely denounced the increasing attempts by the United States to interfere in the domestic affairs of the states in that area as well as the U.S. policy aimed at creating and using aggressive military bases in Egypt, Oman, Kenya, Somalia, on Diego Garcia island and in other countries, which represent a serious threat to the security, independence and sovereignty of the states in that area.

In this connection Todor Zhivkov highly appreciates the initiative taken by 'Ali Nasir Muhammad to convene a high-level conference of the countries of the Persian Gulf, the Arab Peninsula, and the Horn of Africa, as well as other interested countries, in order to liquidate the foreign military presence in that zone, create prerequisites for lasting peace, security and cooperation, which all peoples and countries in that area are aspiring at.

The Bulgarian side expressed appreciation for the friendship and cooperation treaty signed in Aden between the PDRY, the socialist republic of Ethiopia and the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, which expresses the aspirations of these countries to guarantee stability in this area and to consolidate their solidarity against the imperialist threat, against the attempts to interfere in their domestic affairs.

The two sides confirmed their support for the USSR proposal to create an atmosphere of security and peace in the Persian Gulf.

The two sides expressed their support for transforming the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace and convening an international conference on this issue in accordance with the UN decisions.

The two sides expressed their deep concern over the persistent conflict between Iran and Iraq. They expressed their support for the peaceful settling of the controversial issues between the two countries waging war against each other, which is both in the interest of their peoples as well as in the interest of intensifying the struggle against the plans of imperialism in that area.

Discussing the situation in an important strategic area such as the Red Sea, as well as the necessity of preserving the security and stability of the area, the two sides resolutely denounced the plans and maneuvers of imperialism and Zionism. They reaffirmed that the consolidation of peace and security in the zone requires a liquidation of the imperialist military bases and an intensification of the solidarity of all peoples in the area on the basis of respect for the sovereignty, independence and interests of the coastal states, as well as the guarantee of the freedom of international navigation.

The two sides once more confirmed their solidarity with the Ethiopian revolution and expressed their great appreciation for the efforts of the revolution in Ethiopia to defend the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country, as well as its struggle for social progress.

The two leaders devoted particular attention in their talks to the situation in the Middle East. The two sides denounced the agreement on strategic cooperation between the United States and Israel, which represents a threat for all Arab peoples, especially for the Arab people of Palestine, and is aimed at intensifying the imperialist interference in the domestic affairs of the states in the area, as well as creating new obstacles along the path of a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem.

The two sides confirmed that a just and lasting peace in the Middle East can be achieved only after the full withdrawal of Israel from all Arab territories occupied in 1967 and after the implementation of the irrevocable rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to self-determination and their right to establish their own independent state on their own territory. The two leaders once again expressed their support for the struggle waged by the Arab people of Palestine under the leadership of the PLO -- their only legitimate representative -- and their support for the participation of the PLO in negotiations for the settlement of the Middle East problem.

The two sides expressed their support of the just struggle waged by the Lebanese people against Israeli aggression supported by imperialism, and in favor of preserving the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of Lebanon.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria and the PDRY express themselves in favor of the USSR proposal on convening an international Middle East conference with the participation of all interested sides, including the PLO.

The Bulgarian side highly appreciates the positive role played by the Arab Steadfastness Front and by the PDRY in their efforts to consolidate the unity of action of all Arab forces in the struggle against the conspiracies of imperialism and Zionism, in their hopes of bringing the Camp David policy and the policy of defeatist deals to failure.

The two sides pointed out the need to intensify the cooperation of the Arab countries with the USSR and with the other socialist community countries, since this serves the basic interests of the Arab peoples.

The Yemeni side expressed its gratitude for the constant support rendered by the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the other socialist community countries to the Arab peoples' just cause.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria and the PDRY expressed their full support for the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in its struggle against imperialist interference, for independence and for national sovereignty, in defense of its revolutionary achievements. The two sides expressed themselves in support of the specific and realistic proposals submitted by the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan on 24 August 1981 regarding the normalization of its relations with its neighbor countries through negotiations.

In reviewing the situation in Southeast Asia, the two sides denounced all forms of hegemonism and imperialist interference in the domestic affairs of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. They voiced their support for the well-known proposals submitted by these countries to transform Southeast Asia into a zone of peace, stability, friendship and cooperation.

The two sides reviewed the situation in South Africa and expressed their solidarity and support for the just cause of the people of Namibia under the leadership of its only legitimate representative -- the South West African People's Organization. They expressed their unchanging stand in support of the demand for the prompt and full liquidation of colonialism, racism and apartheid in the South African Republic and resolutely denounce the escalation of aggression by the South African regime against the People's Republic of Angola and the other African frontline countries.

The two sides denounced the recently increasing actions of U.S. imperialism against the Republic of Cuba and expressed their solidarity and firm support for the Cuban people in their struggle to defend and consolidate their own socialist achievements.

The two sides stressed the need to consolidate further the alliance of the forces of world socialism, of the national liberation movement and of all progressive and democratic forces in the world in their struggle for peace, international security, for freedom and independence of the peoples, against neocolonialism and racial oppression in all its forms.

The two sides expressed their appreciation of the important positive role played by the nonaligned countries movement in the world and confirmed that, in adhering to its basic principles, this movement could play an even more effective role in international relations.

The two sides declare themselves in favor of a reorganization of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis, in support of fully liquidating all forms of colonial and neocolonial exploitation, in favor of securing all countries' sovereignty regarding their own natural resources, in favor of stopping the uncontrolled activities of multinational monopolies, and in support of liquidating artificial barriers and discrimination in worldwide trade relations.

The two sides stressed the role of the UN as an instrument of preserving peace and international security, of developing peaceful cooperation, and declared that they will contribute to a further consolidation and enhancement of the role of the international organization by observing its charter.

The two sides expressed their great appreciation for the results of the visit paid by 'Ali Nasir Muhammad to Bulgaria and expressed their conviction that this visit will contribute to the further consolidation and expansion of bilateral friendly relations, to useful cooperation in all fields, in the interests of peace, security and social progress throughout the world.

'Ali Nasir Muhammad, general secretary of the Yemeni Socialist Party, chairman of the Supreme People's Council and of the PDRY Council of Ministers, expressed his great gratitude to the Bulgarian people and their leaders for the cordial and warm welcome accorded to him. He invited Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, to pay an official visit to the PDRY. The invitation was accepted with pleasure. The date of the visit will be set later.

DAILY SAYS 'STRIKE MANIA' PERSISTS IN POLAND

LD140854 Prague CTK in English 0805 GMT 14 Nov 81

[From the press review]

[Text] Prague, 14 Nov (CTK) -- "The strikes no more leave anybody in doubt that they are artificially provoked by some groups inside 'Solidarity' which have based their program on constant social tension, on the gradual but evidently effective tactics of breaking the present social, political and economic structures," RUDE PRAVO wrote today on Poland.

The paper recalled that fourteen days have elapsed since the Sejm called for a halt to the strikes, but the "strike mania" persists.

Poland pays dearly for the concessions made to "Solidarity" and now lacks not only coal, but also many basic raw and other materials, and naturally goods. The possibility cannot be excluded that this will bring production in many factories to a standstill. Empty shops testify to the price the society pays for the unprecedented drop in working discipline. Workers on strike receive their full pay and some people make no secret of the fact that they benefit from striking.

"In the light of these facts, the move of the government and the Sejm towards the creation of a front of national agreement seems to be in serious danger. As the Polish television has said -- hopes for agreement are beginning to grow weak," RUDE PRAVO said in conclusion.

BEGINNING OF 'BRIGHT STAR' MANEUVERS REPORTED

AU171220 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Nov 81 p 7

[CTK Cairo, Beirut, New York dispatch: "The United States' and Egypt's Provocative Maneuvers"]

[Text] Cairo, Beirut, New York, 14 Nov (CTK) -- The joint American-Egyptian Bright Star 82 maneuvers started on Saturday with the descent of 866 American paratroopers in the desert west of the Egyptian capital. A total of 1,300 American and 4,000 Egyptian soldiers are taking part in the maneuvers.

Apart from guns, wheeled and tracked armoured personnel carriers and personal weapons, the troops involved in the exercise will also have at their disposal American M-60 tanks. The maneuvers, the purpose of which is to test the readiness of the United States' so-called Rapid Deployment Force, will be held on the Egyptian territory up to the end of November. Next month, the troops will be transferred to Sudan, Somalia and Oman. The Bright Star 82 military exercise could have incalculable consequences for world peace, and especially for the security of African nations, says a declaration of the Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued in Addis Ababa on Friday. The maneuvers are an integral part of imperialism's designs against progressive regimes in the region and the national liberation struggle and pose a direct threat to those states, the declaration underlines.

In light of those facts, socialist Ethiopia, the Libyan Arab Socialist People's Jamahiriyah and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen decided to convene for 15 and 16 November a joint meeting of ministers of foriegn affairs in Addis Ababa to analyze the situation.

[Attached to the CTK dispatch is a 100-word report on an article published by the American magazine ENGINEERING NEWS RECORD, according to which the United States and Egypt signed an agreement on modernizing the Egyptian Ra's Banas base; and a 30-word report on the Iranian premier Musavi's "Emphatic Condemnation" of the Bright Star maneuvers.]

MITTAG ADDRESSES SOVIET ECONOMISTS 13 NOV

LD131746 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1500 GMT 13 Nov 81

[Text] Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, spoke to a delegation of Soviet economists today on the economic strategy of the party for the eighties, as well as on the development of combines in the GDR. During the talk he also stressed the necessity of exchanging experiences, on the basis of the general principles of socialism, on fundamental questions of economic planning and organization. The head of the Soviet delegation, academician Professor Rumyantsev, expressed the certainty that the joint theoretical research of the USSR and the GDR in the field of economics is useful to both countries.

STOPH HOLDS TALKS WITH HUNGARIAN OFFICIAL

AU161151 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Nov 81 p 2

[Summary] Berlin (ADN) -- On Thursday Willi Stoph, GDR Council of Ministers chairman, had a friendly talk with Lajos Faluvegi, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic and chairman of the National Planning Office.

"They agreed that deepening the socialist economic integration is a decisive factor for strengthening the community of socialist states as a whole and every individual CEMA member country." Willi Stoph and Lajos Faluvegi praised the consistent implementation of the basic agreements between Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, and Janos Kadar, MSZMP Central Committee first secretary, in March 1977 and agreed on further strengthening cooperation between the GDR and the People's Republic of Hungary. The talk was attended by Gerhard Schuerer, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning Commission, and Bela Szalai, ambassador of the Hungarian People's Republic to the GDR.

HONECKER MEETS WITH PLO'S AL-WAZIR 17 NOV

LD171750 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1608 GMT 17 Nov 81

[Text] Berlin, 17 Nov (ADN) -- Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State today received for a friendly talk the PLO military delegation which is currently visiting the GDR. The delegation is headed by Khalil al-Wazir, deputy commander in chief of the Armed Forces of Al-Asifah and member of the Central Committee of Al-Fatah.

During the cordial meeting at the SED Central Committee building, Khalil al-Wazir conveyed greetings from Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, which were cordially reciprocated by Erich Honecker.

The partners in the talk discussed current international problems. Erich Honecker and Khalil al-Wazir agreed that the confrontation policy of imperialism, especially of the United States, in the Middle and Near East is dangerously aggravating the situation in this region. This policy encourages Israel to fresh aggression, both in the occupied Arab territories and against the Arab states.

Erich Honecker briefed his guests on the initiatives of the working people and the soldiers for the creative implementation of the decisions of the 10th SED Congress, which are aimed at safeguarding peace and the well-being of the people. With their great achievements they are assisting the overall strengthening of their socialist homeland and its reliable military protection.

In this connection Erich Honecker reaffirmed that the GDR, in alliance with the USSR and the other socialist states, will continue to make an active contribution toward lessening the danger of war, continuing the policy of detente, halting the arms race and promoting social progress.

He said that the people of the GDR stand firmly in the anti-imperialist front alongside the Arab peoples of Palestine. The GDR supports the demands for the complete and immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied Palestinian and Arab territories and for guarantees of the inalienable national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including the right to return, to self-determination and to the establishment of their own independent Palestinian state.

Khalil al-Wazir expressed thanks for the cordial reception in the GDR. He described the visit by the PLO military delegation to the German worker and peasant state as a renewed expression of the close solidarity alliance of the people of the GDR with the just struggle of the Palestinian people.

The meeting, which was held in a comradely atmosphere, was also attended by Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and GDR minister of defense; Deputy Defense Ministers Gen Heinz Kessler and Gen Fritz Streletz; and Gen Herbert Scheibe, head of the Department for Security at the SED Central Committee.

Dr 'Isam Kamil Salim, head of the PLO mission in the GDR, was also present.

U.S. 'BRIGHT STAR' MANEUVERS START IN MIDEAST

AU171005 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Nov 81 p 1

[Text] Washington (ADN) -- The largest U.S. military maneuvers in the Middle East to date started over the weekend with the landing of a battalion of American parachutists in Egypt. According to the Pentagon, about 6,000 American soldiers, Marine units and the "Special Forces" units, helicopter carriers as well as AWACS spy planes are participating in the maneuvers code named "Bright Star."

PEACE COUNCIL DELEGATION MEETS U.S. COUNTERPARTS

AU161146 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Nov 81 p 2

[Text] New York (ADN) -- A delegation of the GDR Peace Council headed by its secretary general, Werner Ruempel, met with leading representatives of the U.S. peace movement on Tuesday and Wednesday. The delegation also had talks with Mike Myerson, chairman of the U.S. Peace Council; with representatives of the Quakers, the People's Antiwar Mobilization and the Executive Committee of the Society for the Study of the GDR.

The representatives of the U.S. peace movement welcomed the growing protest movement in Western Europe and said that in their own country, too, the struggle against the U.S. policy of intensified armament and preparation for a nuclear war must be increased. Werner Ruempel, Max Schmidt and Parson Helmut Orphan answered questions on the policy of the GDR and the community of socialist states. Possibilities for further deepening cooperation were discussed by the representatives of the GDR Peace Council and the U.S. peace movement.

ALFRED NEUMANN RECEIVES MOZAMBIQUE MINISTER

AU161154 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Nov 81 p 2

[Summary] Berlin (ADN) -- On Thursday Alfred Neumann, first deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, had a friendly talk with Luis Maria Alcantara Santos, minister of ports and land transport of the People's Republic of Mozambique. Alfred Neumann briefed his guest, who is in the GDR on a working visit, on the initiatives of the GDR working people and assured him of the solidarity of the SED and the GDR with the Mozambique people.

The two participants in the talk agreed that all peace-loving forces should be mobilized for preserving world peace and continuing the process of detente and disarmament. They condemned the aggressive machinations of the South African racist regime and expressed their solidarity with the South West African People's Organization. In the talk they also discussed questions of further strengthening and deepening bilateral relations.

HONECKER PRESENTS AWARD TO UN ENVOY FLORIN

LD172042 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1631 GMT 17 Nov 81

[Text] Berlin, 17 Nov (ADN) -- Today Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, invested Peter Florin, member of the SED Central Committee and the GDR's long-serving UN representative, with the order of Karl Marx, the GDR's highest award, for outstanding achievements in the building of socialism in the GDR and for services to the policy of peace and international friendship.

Erich Honecker performed the investiture ceremony in Berlin today. Also present at the ceremony were Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer and Secretary of the Council of State Heinz Eichler.

WEST BERLIN MAN DETAINED AS 'NATO SPY'

AU151450 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Nov 81 p 2

[ADN report: "Spy of a NATO Secret Service Detained"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN) -- GDR security organs have detained (West) Berlin resident Gerhard T. for espionage for a NATO secret service. Investigative proceedings were initiated and an arrest warrant was issued.

HONECKER GREETS 37TH BRITISH CP CONGRESS

AU161519 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14-15 Nov 81 pp 1-2

[Text] Berlin (ND) -- The SED Central Committee has sent a greetings message to the 37th party congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain [CPGB]. The letter, signed by General Secretary Erich Honecker, runs as follows:

Dear comrades: The SED Central Committee conveys to the 37th CPGB Congress fraternal militant greetings.

Your party congress is taking place at a time when the dangers to world peace have substantially increased through the policy of confrontation and intensified armament pursued by the most aggressive circles of imperialism.

Together with all peace-loving forces of Great Britain, your party resolutely opposes the plans for stationing new nuclear weapons systems on British territory and for the production of the neutron weapon. It supports constructive disarmament negotiations and actively works for the constant broadening and strengthening of the peace and disarmament movement.

The CPGB offers an alternative program to monopoly capital's policy of crisis marked by mass unemployment, inflation and reduction of social benefits, an alternative program that is aimed at safeguarding the vital interests of the working people. Your party indefatigably works for the unity of action of the British workers movement.

The SED and the CPGB are linked by longstanding, comradely collaboration that is based on the time-tested principles of the international communist movement and contributes toward strengthening its unity of action.

We wish your party congress success and are firmly convinced that its decisions will strengthen the political and organizational cohesion of the party and will lead to further successes in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress.

POLISH PEASANT, DEMOCRATIC PARTY MEMBERS CITED

AU171230 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 14 Nov 81 p 4

[Concluding article in a series by Gabor Kurti and Barna Varro: "Poland in November 1981 (3.); Will a New Front Be Formed?"]

[Text] So many "fronts" have been formed since the summer of 1980 in Poland that it would be difficult to count them. Their common characteristic was the fact that, querying something, those in the "front line" joined forces against something or someone. Now, for the first time since the beginning of the political-economic crisis in Poland, the outlines of a front are taking shape which would at last mobilize people in favor of something, a front whose participants would attempt to unite the country's creative energy for the sake of consolidation and not confrontation. At issue is the idea of a front of national agreement, which was the focal point of the Jaruzelski-Glemp-Walesa meeting last Wednesday and which -- it goes without saying -- was a recurring topic of our Warsaw discussions. It is natural that we have also asked representatives of parties allied with the PZPR about it.

"The United Peasant Party firmly supports the formation of a front of national agreement," says parliamentary deputy Dr Witold Lipski, member of the Peasant Party's Secretariat. "However, a front of agreement can produce genuine results only if it is formed with the participation of prestigious figures trusted by the people, on the basis of complete equality of rights. In my opinion, the PZPR and the two other parties can retain the power only if they share it with all social forces. I would stress that what is involved is not abandoning the power, not handing over the power, but sharing it, because, thus, also the responsibility for governing would be shared."

[Question] The United Peasant Party has previously assumed a share of the responsibility for governing, since it has provided ministers and a deputy premier for the cabinet. The Peasant Party will probably have to reassess many things under the new circumstances....

[Answer] The elaboration of a new program and ideological declaration of the party is underway at this very moment. This job is being accompanied by sharp debates, which is shown, among other things, by the fact that the leadership has received, from intellectual circles of our party of half a million members, 76 draft programs. Our present line is being attacked from the right. Those who want far-reaching changes are urging the convening of an extraordinary party congress. Their idea is that the party should adopt not only a new program, but a new charter as well. These people are unable to reconcile the Peasant Party's independence and autonomy with the PZPR's leading role. According to others -- and I count myself among them -- the previous congress has made sufficient modifications and, therefore, there is no need for extraordinary deliberations. I feel that one cannot cast doubt on the fundamental principle that PZPR representatives should be ensured a majority in the Sejm and local councils. In my opinion, the mood of the masses should be considered in the development of a new election system, but we cannot accept a system that would question the PZPR's majority role," stressed Lipski.

[Question] As a parliamentary deputy, you are, no doubt, quite familiar with the peasants' problems. What are your experiences?

[Answer] I have, indeed, obtained direct experiences about village problems. Everyone knows that there was a good harvest this year and that, in spite of that, peasants are withholding their commodities, which leads to deterioration of public supplies and an enhancement of differences between the workers and peasants. However, the farmers say that there is nothing for them to buy for their money. They cannot even obtain warm working clothes and rubber boots. At the moment, the peasants are given industrial goods directly for their commodities, which is, however, causing indignation in the cities. As far as the military action groups are concerned, what is thought of them in many places is that they are sizing up the terrain for requisitioning later.

An example to demonstrate tense contradictions: A farmer came to me in Krosno, my constituency, and informed me that he would be prepared to sell 3,000 kilograms of pork immediately if he could obtain a tractor. I told the head of the voivodship of the matter, who answered me: The offer is an attractive one, but the problem is that the farmer in question has two tractors already, while others do not have even one. On the other hand, the others cannot sell so much meat. In this situation, it is difficult to resolve the inequality. My advice to the head of the voivodship was that the farmer should receive his tractor, and levying taxes on him or some other solution should be considered later.

[Question] How is the Peasant Party trying to alleviate the food supply situation?

[Answer] In our opinion, the main reason for the withholding of foodstuffs is that peasants are waiting for new prices that are more advantageous for them. Proceeding from this, our party comes out for an immediate introduction of new prices, that is, for speeding up the introduction of an economic reform. Our appraisal is that the grave public party supply problems can be alleviated only through economic means. It is clear, however, that two things prevent an immediate introduction of a price reform. First, the matter should be arbitrated with all trade unions before reaching a decision. It would be at least as important to reach an agreement on the extent of a compensation and the proportion in which certain groups of the population should benefit from it. In my opinion, not all price increases can or should be compensated for, because social patterns regarding income are very differentiated as it is. People possess an enormous amount of money, while, at the same time, half the population suffers from a constant lack of money. The economy can be pulled out of the mess only through the introduction of a firm material incentive system, Lipski concluded his argumentation.

Problems connected with an economic reform came up also at the headquarters of the Democratic Party, all the more so because principles of the reform have been experimentally applied since July of this year in the small-scale industry, which can be regarded as one of the party's bases and which employs 10 percent of the working people and produces 26 percent of consumer goods. (State farms were the other experimental area.) Alfred Beszterda, secretary of the Central Committee and member of the Presidium of the Democratic Party:

"Prices have been completely uncontrolled since July in small-scale industry, but this has led to extreme price increases. Only a saturation of the market can lead to price reductions. In our party's opinion, until that is the case, a temporary limit should be imposed on uncontrolled prices. We are going to submit a proposal to that effect."

[Question] Alongside others, Democratic Party representatives also have participated in elaborating the fundamental principles of the reform. And an even more spectacular "upward revaluation" of the party took place in recent weeks, since the party president, Edward Kowalczyk, is now fulfilling also the position of one of the deputy chairmen of the government.

[Answer] "While agreeing with that conclusion, we would extend the range somewhat," say Waclaw Gluth Nowowiejski, head of the party's press and propaganda department, and Andrzej Olszewski, a member of the department's staff. "Since Jaruzelski has been occupying three positions at the same time, one can observe a broadening of the social base of governing. A sign of this process is the fact that, in the person of Zenon Komender, the deputy chairman of the temporal Catholic Pax society has been elected to the very sensitive position of minister of domestic trade. The expansion of the social base means an increased representation of the forces that influence the development of events and bear responsibility for Poland."

[Question] How was the party affected by the changes that have taken place in the country?

"The number of Democratic Party members has increased somewhat in recent months, to the present 115,000," answers Olszewski. "Our party, which encompasses mainly intellectuals and small-scale artisans, has not changed its ideology, but has merely modified its tactics. We are not a Marxist party, and our members are largely believers. We foster progressive Polish democratic traditions and our goal is to democratize all areas of social life. We regard it as important to remain in the three-party alliance, but to do so with an independent image. We are now making preparations for the council elections. We have worked out five variations of a new election system. It is probable, but not yet certain, that our party will nominate independent candidates for the council elections. We would find it a good solution if parties coordinated their concepts concerning the elections within the framework of the front of national agreement that is now taking shape. As for the planned front itself, we expect that all political forces will be requested to join it. However, we presume that a joint declaration of the three parties will be the basis of the front, which would lay down the inviolability of the country's status of alliance and socialist construction and the independence of parties."

Political concepts are changing daily in Poland today. We have shown only fleeting glimpses in our series, which are hardly lasting ones. Nevertheless, we would like to hope that, next time, we will be able to report not only on plans for a front of national agreement, but on results of its functioning as well.

FRIGYES PUJA MEETS WITH ECUADOR'S PRESIDENT

LD172050 Budapest MTI in English 1743 GMT 17 Nov 81

[Text] Quito, 17 Nov (MTI) -- On Tuesday Hungarian Foreign Minister Frigyes Puja, currently on an official visit in Ecuador, was seen by President Oswaldo Hurtado. Then the head of Hungarian diplomacy made a brief call at the office of Vice-President Leon Roldos. In the evening the Ecuadoran foreign minister hosted a dinner in honour of Frigyes Puja.

HAVASI VISITS EXHIBITION IN STUTTGART 16 NOV

LD171822 Budapest MTI in English 1718 GMT 17 Nov 81

[Text] Stuttgart, 17 Nov (MTI) -- Ferenc Havasi, member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, visited an exhibition organized within the one week programme of "Hungarian Panorama", in Stuttgart on Monday. Ferenc Havasi had talks with Lothar Spath, minister-president of Baden-Wurttemberg, and met representatives of FRG firms which had regular contacts with Hungarian enterprises. Present at the meeting was Dr. Rudolf Eberle, minister of economy of Baden-Wurttemberg.

MSZMP DELEGATION'S KABUL VISIT 11-15 NOV NOTED

LD172037 Budapest MTI in English 1745 GMT 17 Nov 81

[Text] Budapest, 17 Nov (MTI) -- Invited by the Afghan People's Democratic Party Central Committee, a delegation of the HSWP led by Tibor Baranyai, member of the Central Control Committee and head of the CC's Party and Mass Organizations Department, paid a visit to the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan between Nov. 11 and 15.

During its stay in Kabul the delegation was received by Babrak Karmal, secretary-general of the People's Democratic Party Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council. The Hungarian party officials had talks with Anahita Ratebzad and Dastaghir Panjsheri, members of the party Political Committee, with Mahmud Barialay, secretary of the Central Committee and head of the Foreign Department, and with Sayd T. Paykargar, acting head of the Central Committee Organization Department.

The delegation paid a visit to the Council of Afghan Trade Unions, to the Afghan Democratic Youth Organization, and also held a press conference.

At the cordial and comradely discussions the representatives of the two parties informed one another about the situation and activities of their parties, and expressed readiness to further develop relations. The HSWP representatives confirmed the solidarity of the Hungarian people with the struggle of the Afghan People's Democratic Party fought for consolidation of the achievements of the April 1978 revolution, for the improvement of the living conditions of the Afghan people, for social progress, for normalization of relations with the neighbouring countries and against counter-revolutionaries supported by international reaction.

GASPAR COMMENTS ON WFTU CONGRESS, 1956 'LESSONS'

LD172334 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 17 Nov 81

[Text] The Havana congress of the WFTU will deal primarily with the responsibility of the movement for the protection of world peace. This was stressed by Sandor Gaspar, president of the WFTU and secretary general of the Hungarian National Trade Union Council [SZOT] at the Rome congress of the Italian General Confederation of Labor. He explained that the WFTU would have to make renewed efforts to ensure that the striving for unity was asserted better than in the past.

Sandor Gaspar then stated that we owed an explanation to Italian working people because we had created a major problem for Italian workers, too, by the counterrevolution of 1956. The secretary general of SZOT noted: I may tell you that we have learned the historical lessons from the experiences of 1956 and that Hungary has set out on the path of development. We now have enough historical experience to prove that there can be no society that can do without a trade union movement that has a sphere of action and a sphere of authority.

LEADERS ATTEND SCIENCE ACADEMY PRESIDIUM MEETING

LD171754 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 17 Nov 81

[Text] Janos Kadar has had a meeting in Budapest with leading officials of the Academy of Sciences and he then attended an extraordinary meeting of the academy presidium. Janos Kadar was accompanied on the visit by two members of the Politburo, Gyorgy Aczel, deputy chairman of the government, and Miklos Ovari, secretary of the Central Committee.

Kadar Remarks

LD180010 Budapest Domestic Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 17 Nov 81

[Excerpts] A popular guest was awaited at the gate of the central offices of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences this afternoon. The guest was Janos Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, who was accompanied on this visit by Gyorgy Aczel, member of the Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; and Miklos Ovari, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee. The guests were welcomed by Janos Szentagothai, president of the Academy.

After listening to a dozen or so speeches, Janos Kadar also rose to make an address, and he said the following:

[Begin recording] Dear comrades and friends, thank you for organizing this meeting and for inviting me to attend it, and thank you for the friendly welcome.

I would like to stress that a meeting with the leaders of the Hungarian scientific life is both an important and a useful event for me. I have listened with great attention to the comrade president and the 14 speakers. It is my general impression that here are vitality and work that is carried out in the leading body, departments and research institutes of the Academy of Sciences. Matters are now far more closely linked to the issues that concern the party Central Committee, our government and our society.

We may see a branch of science that makes progress when it comes under pressure and when society sets a task for it. This is agriculture, and agriculture is indeed a science also. Society has reached the stage at which the socialist reorganization has had to be carried through and so it has prospered. [words indistinct] the same has happened to the science of economics (?in the language of reform). If society sets a task -- understanding that a task is set sometimes through indirect means, such as the Central Committee or the Council of Ministers -- then that task is to be considered a real task. Such a task mobilizes everyone.

I have arrived at the conclusion for a variety of reasons that I am interested in the final product. This applies also to the work of scientific research. I am sure that the process of creative work is extremely important. Whoever deals with this must deal very seriously with it so as to ensure -- as a number of speakers said here -- that the basic needs of scientific workers for adequate working conditions are available. I dare say on behalf of the party and the government that we are obliged to consider this our task, that is, that we should provide suitable working conditions. I would like to state that we have followed this line to date and that we will continue to follow this in the future also-that is, that the Central Committee does not undertake to arbitrate in scientific debates. In our view it would be harmful and bad if we were to deviate from this because it would have an immediate effect on the freedom of research, which would be felt not only in the social sciences. This has been shown by negative experiences. However, we have not done this -- I believe that you can witness to this -- and we will not do this in the future, either. Scientific debates should be resolved in the sphere of science and in the debates of scientists. I believe that the test of practice applies to this as well. [end recording]

LOSONCZI VISITS INTERIOR MINISTRY, HEARS REPORT

LD172028 Budapest MTI in English 1720 GMT 17 Nov 81

[Text] Budapest, 17 Nov (MTI) -- Pal Losonczi, member of the HSWP Political Committee and president of the Presidential Council, visited the Ministry of the Interior on Tuesday. He met senior officials of the ministry and heard a report on its activity given by Istvan Horvath, minister of home affairs. Following this, Pal Losonczi visited several institutions of the ministry.

BRIEFS

NEW AMBASSADORS -- Presidential Council Chairman Pal Losonczi on Wednesday received Andrej Barcak, new CSSR ambassador in Hungary, as well as Dr Armando Holguin Sarria, new ambassador of the Republic of Colombia in Hungary, who presented their credentials. Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Antal Apro, president of the National Assembly, received for an introductory visit Osman Basman, ambassador of the Republic of Turkey. [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 12 Nov 81 p 8 AU]

POLICE JOIN INTERPOL -- At its annual meeting in Nice, Interpol has admitted the police of the Hungarian People's Republic to its membership. As a member of Interpol, the Hungarian police will be able to operate more effectively in preventing and detecting international crime. [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 12 Nov 81 p 8 AU]

GOVERNMENT, SOLIDARITY HOLD PROCEDURAL MEETING

LD171846 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 17 Nov 81

[Text] As our special correspondent reports, a procedural meeting between government and Solidarity representatives began shortly after 1700 in the office of the Council of Ministers. The participants are discussing procedural matters and the themes and principles of negotiations in the thematic groups.

The work of the government delegation is being directed by the minister of trade union relations, Stanislaw Ciosek. The union delegation is headed by the deputy chairman of the National Commission, Stanislaw Wadolowski.

In welcoming the Solidarity delegation, Minister Ciosek expressed the hope that today's talks will not only be fruitful, but will also -- in the context of the recent meeting between Wojciech Jaruzelski, Jozef Glemp and Lech Walesa -- contribute toward attaining social calm in the country.

Working Teams Formed

LD180928 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0800 GMT 18 Nov 81

[Text] The talks held in the Council of Ministers office between representatives of the Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Union Affairs and a delegation of the National Commission of Solidarity ended shortly before 0300 today. The meeting was chaired by Minister Stanislaw Ciosek and by Stanislaw Wadolowski, deputy chairman of the Solidarity National Commission. It has been decided to enter into working talks in teams to discuss matters concerning the social economic council, a mixed comission and methods of social control in the area of the economy and economic reform, for matters concerning provisional measures aimed at extricating the country from the crisis and at alleviating the consequences of the winter, access to the mass media, and local conflicts and ways of solving them. It has been decided to continue discussion on the remaining issues, particularly law and order and territorial self-government, at the next plenary session. The National Commission delegation presented the union's stance for entering into talks on reaching national accord.

Joint Communique on Talks

LD181206 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 18 Nov 81

[Excerpts] We are going over to our reporter Andrzej Jelenski who was in the Council of Ministers office for a number of hours:

The plenary talks between government representatives and representatives of the National Commission of NSZZ Solidarity went on from 1700 yesterday until almost 0300. The session was chaired by Stanislaw Ciosek, minister for trade union affairs, and Stanislaw Wadolowski, deputy chairman of the Solidarity National Commission Presidium. Here is the joint communique which Marek Brunne, Solidarity press spokesman, read out after the talks to representatives of domestic and foreign press.

[Begin Brunne recording] On the 17th talks were held in Warsaw between representatives of the Council of Ministers' Committee for Trade Union Affairs and the delegation of the NSZZ Solidarity National Commission Presidium.

So far as the talks in the (?six) working groups are concerned some of them will already begin this week. The first meeting of a working character in negotiating groups will be this week; I do not know if this is going to take place exactly on the 19th but it will concern the issues of the social council on national economy, the mixed commission, and the union commission for social control over economic affairs.

Similarly, the date has been fixed, although not so precisely, for entering into talks on economic issues pertaining to economic reform, activities aimed at getting through the winter, and all issues connected with the economy; this will take place next week. So far as the union's access to the mass media is concerned, the date for the meeting will be decided today [word indistinct] between the two interested central representatives -- Minister Urban and Mr Jan Waszkiewicz, who is a member of the Presidium and is responsible for information on the union. The date for the plenary session has not yet been decided. [end recording]

MEDIA CRITICIZES SOLIDARITY 'PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN'

TV Commentary

LD171950 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 17 Nov 81

[Station commentary]

[Text] We have been reporting with optimism and hope for a dozen or so days now about the concept of creating a front of social accord. Words of support are coming from radio and television for this idea as well as from outstanding personalities of our political, social, scientific and cultural life. I think we all receive with satisfaction the news about the working talks between the government and Solidarity. But even before these talks came about, a Solidarity propaganda campaign got going a few hours before the meeting; this campaign was aimed at the social mass media, chiefly radio and television.

Inscriptions and pamphlets whose contents were not at all refined, not to say abominable -- particularly if one quotes words that were daubed accusing the party and government of indulging in nothing less than Goebbels-type propaganda -- covered the walls of buildings and the doors of houses and fences. What are the initiators of this campaign driving at?

No doubt their aim is to have so-called access to the mass media, in other words saying what is not inscribed on walls on radio and television without having this controlled anywhere and without anyone controlling this. According to this slogan of "We shall say what has to be said ourselves; we shall tell the truth and nothing but the truth," the situation will improve in Poland immediately. Are we to believe this or not?

It is difficult not to recall May of this year when demands were being made for the registration of Rural Solidarity. At that time slogans and banners were also used: "Register Rural Solidarity and you shall eat ham rolls" was what was being written in a bewitchingly propaganda manner. Well, we've got Solidarity but without the rolls, not to mention ham.

Propaganda is a difficult thing and time is the best test for its effectiveness. One cannot hide the fact that the months that are going by do not bear out the credibility of this gaudy and noisy propaganda, which time and time again avoids facts in favor of insinuations. After all, when the facts are not up to wishes then so much the worse for the facts. Then what is quite simply done is to accuse others of lying and manipulating. Yet, when it is the case of the truth and nothing but the truth then no one is taking anyone for a ride.

Poster Campaign in Slupsk

LD181210 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 18 Nov 81

[Text] A propaganda compaign by NSZZ Solidarity is going in Slupsk on the issue of the union's access to the mass media. The campaign involves the pasting up of posters. The content of the posters has been approved by the Office for Control of Publications and Public Performances. In Lebork, [name indistinct], Slawno and Miastko the local Solidarity boards have agreed with local authorities on where the posters are to be displayed. In Slupsk, the posters have been affixed to a number of buildings, including the offices of the party voivodship committee, of the voivodship People's Councils and of the voivodship committee, of the voivodship People's Councils and of the voivodship military headquarters.

As reported by the leader of the regional Solidarity board Wojciech (Wierke), the mayor of Slupsk has pledged to allocate, by 5 November, five boards in the town for bill posting. The boards, however, have not been mounted and the union began to stick posters on buildings and at the bus stops. This, in turn, made the militia units detain the participants in this bill posting campaign including the chairman of the regional board of Solidarity and a member of the National Commission in order to check their papers. All these persons were released after their papers were checked and their statements were taken. The regional board of Solidarity in Slupsk has sent a protest to the authorities which has also been conveyed to the press.

LECH WALESA VISITS OSWIECIM WORKERS 10 NOV

AU161629 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Nov 81 p 5

[Staffer's report: "L. Walesa in Oswiecim"]

[Text] Lech Walesa visited Oswiecim on 10 November and attended an improvised meeting of 1 and 1/2 hours in the Oswiecim chemical plant during the breakfast break. The meeting was attended by about 2,000 people from the workforce of over 9,000 workers in various shifts.

L. Walesa stressed inter alia the need for consensus and the cooperation of all Poles as the basic condition for overcoming the present crisis. He also answered numerous questions. Asked when all four Saturdays [in the month] will be work free, he said: Dear gentlemen, you will have your own self-management groups and they will know what profits you can make. In that case it is not out of the question that you will then not talk about the fourth work-free Saturday, but will say: We are ready to work Sundays as well to make money....

Asked about the true situation of trade with the Soviet Union, he said: Everyone, and not only the Poles, wants to trade with the Soviet Union, because it is a source of raw materials and a seller's market.

Later on L. Walesa placed flowers at the monument honoring the Hitlerite prisoners and victims of fascism employed by the chemical plant during the war. He then departed for Gdansk.

REPORTAGE ON REGIONAL STRIKE SITUATION

Students' Strike Roundup

LD172306 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 17 Nov 81

[Text] In the majority of university centers the protest actions of students and educational workers, who align themselves with the demands of the Independent Students Association [NZS] and Solidarity in the Radom Higher Engineering School are continuing. They also demand an immediate submission to the Sejm of the new civic bill on higher education.

In Warsaw more than 2,000 students of the university are on strike. Beginning yesterday some 4,000 students of the Technical University, Main School for Planning and Statistics and State Higher Theater School also began striking. Today, a sit-in strike was started by students of the Main Rural Economy School. The senate of that higher learning establishment has expressed profound anxiety at the snail's pace of the work on drafting the new bill on higher schools. This is the main reason for the anxiety and destabilization of the normal rhythm of work, which is expressed in the protest actions organized by some of the students and educational workers.

The sit-in strike at the Higher Teachers' Training College in Rzeszow continues. The college was the first to support the demands of Solidarity of the Radom Higher Engineering School. The strike was also joined by students of the Rzeszow Technical University.

The students of the Pomorze Medical Academy and of the Szczecin Agricultural Academy, like those from many other universities in the country, have volunteered to work during the strike in industrial enterprises. Protest actions have been carried out today by Solidarity university organizations in all higher schools in Gdansk and at the Higher Teachers' Training College in Bydgoszcz.

The party university committee at Lodz University has expressed support for the demands of students and educational workers at the Radom Higher Engineering School. On the other hand, it did not support the expression of dissatisfaction through strikes.

As the Council of Ministers reports, the civic bill will be sent to the Sejm within the next few days, with general and detailed remarks by the government. The need for the community to be thoroughly acquainted with the precepts of the bill and with the notes submitted by the government has also been stressed. The issue is that both the academic circles and all social circles which support specific solutions of the higher education bill should be aware of the degree and manner in which the interests of the whole community will be secured.

Radom School Senate Meets

LD171648 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 17 Nov 81

[Summary] A special session of the senate of the Radom Higher Engineering School was held today. Members of the senate stated that if the normal course of didactic work is not restored within 1 week it will be necessary to repeat 1 term's work. The senate has addressed an open letter to the senates of all higher education schools in Poland giving an account of the real sources of conflict. The NSZZ Solidarity commission at the Higher Pedagogical School in Bydgoszcz has proclaimed an all-day strike today by the scientific and administrative employees of the school, thus joining the national protest action. Beginning today, two higher education schools in Szczecin -- the Medical Academy and the Agricultural Academy -- have gone on strike.

Wroclaw Students' Strike Grows

LD172250 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 17 Nov 81

[Text] The protest action by students is spreading in Wroclaw. Information rallies organized by the Independent Students Association [NZS] are being held at higher education establishments. In front of the Agricultural Academy, where a sit-in has been in progress since yesterday, groups of students from other Wroclaw schools are gathering. The main academy building, to which we have been refused admission, is now occupied by 800 students, including approximately 200 girls.

New students carrying sleeping bags are continually arriving. Due to a shortage of space, the strike committee sends them to other buildings of the academy: zoological technology, drainage and the "X Labirynt" students' hostel. The school walls have been covered in posters produced by NZS members. Teaching at the school has been suspended beginning today, and days off for students have been announced until Saturday.

Support for the striking students has been given by the school commission of NSZZ Solidarity. Its resolution makes it incumbent on union members to make it possible for the students to make up for the delays in the teaching program. The strike has not been joined by members of the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP] who give as their reason the fact that yesterday the draft law on higher education was the subject of a session of the Council of Ministers, and that the Sejm will soon deal with the draft.

Anti-Soviet Posters Criticized

LD171948 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 17 Nov 81

[Text] A PAP correspondent reports from Szczecin that the Independent Students Association [NZS] at the Higher Pedagogical School in Szczecin has marked the 63d anniversary of the rebirth of the Polish state by publishing posters and sticking them on the walls. The posters depict a map of Poland with pre-1939 borders. Is this an act of ignorance or is this an act of provocation? The posters are signed by the NZS of the Higher Pedagogical School in Szczecin.

While the entire community respectfully marked the anniversary of Poland's independence, a group of future teachers has demonstrated an attitude which is alien to our nation. No doubt the posters will be used as an argument by those forces in the West which continue to demand that our postwar borders be revised. One is overcome by anger when one thinks that they are assisted in this anti-Polish activity by our students and that there was not a single person in the entire school who would explain the harmfulness of such a deed to the students.

Legnica Vendors Join Strike

LD171218 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 17 Nov 81

[Text] [Announcer] Here is our Wroclaw correspondent's report on the strike-protest action by newspaper distributors:

[Correspondent] Protest action by employees of the press and book distribution enterprise is under way. Director Mielecki has told us today that newspaper kiosk vendors from the Legnica Voivodship -- where until now the press was sold normally at most kiosks -- have joined the blockade of the sale of daily papers and weeklies.

Talks in Warsaw, which unfortunately did not end in success, continued until 0200 this morning. The press is still being distributed by means of military transport, party organizations, and the Worker Publishing Cooperative, which has to depend on its own resources within the framework of sales from automobiles in several points of the town and from the editorial office headquarters.

Government, News Vendors Talk

LD171544 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 17 Nov 81

[Text] Today is the second day of talks between the ministerial commission for the Workers Publishing Cooperative [RSW], Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch, and representatives of the trade unions active in the cooperative, of NSZZ Solidarity, NSZZ Jednosc [Unity] and NSZZ Niezaleznosc [Independence].

One of the four issues which were the cause of the strike of kiosk vendors in Lower Silesia and other regions of the country, concerning educational holidays for Ruch kiosk [network] vendors has been agreed. At present, a heated discussion is being conducted on the next problem, the earlier retirement age. The RSW, as the employer, supports the demand of its employees; however, the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs does not agree to the implementation of this demand. Those at the meeting have put forward the proposal that the issue of earlier retirement should be presented at today's meeting between the National Commission of Solidarity and the Council of Ministers' Committee for Trade Union Affairs.

Meanwhile, the boycott of newspaper sales continues. In Wroclaw and [name indistinct] it is in its ninth day. Today, the press distributors in Gorzow and Wroclaw Voivodships among others, continued their strike.

POLL SHOWS DECLINING SUPPORT FOR STRIKES

LD180928 Warsaw PAP in English 0800 GMT 18 Nov 81

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Nov (PAP) -- Protest action by students, which started with the conflict in the Higher Engineering School in Radom, continues to spread. Strikes are now on at the Higher Pedagogical School in Rzeszow, at the Warsaw University, the Warsaw Polytechnic, the Higher School of Theatre Arts, the [name indistinct] Higher School of Planning and Statistics, the Jagiellonian University of Krakow, academic schools in Szczecin, Wroclaw, Gdansk and Bydgoszcz.

Rectors of Warsaw's higher schools which held a conference today published a communique in which they call on the Polish Government to undertake actions designed to eliminate the causes of conflict which occurred in the Higher Engineering School in Radom in line with the provisions of the draft law on higher schools.

In spite of the talks continuing for the second day already between the government commission and representatives of trade unions operating at the "Prasa, Ksiazka, Ruch" publishing concern, the protest action by news vendors and delivery men has spread from Lower Silesia onto other regions of Poland and embraced the Bydgoszcz, Kielce, Slupsk, Koszalin and Zielona Gora Voivodships.

At 1600 today car drivers in Kolo, Konin Voivodship, blocked the E-8 international motorway running from Poznan to Wroclaw to protest petrol shortages.

Representatives of the Ministry of Labour, Wages and Social Affairs and delegates of unions affiliating employees of dairy cooperatives have concluded today their negotiations concerning wages and benefits for dairy industry workers. The sides have worked out a mutually acceptable stand on the issue.

The Executive Committee of the National Cooperation Commission of the Branch Trade Unions adopted at its session today a draft document on the organization aspects of the unions' cooperation with the government. In the document the Branch Trade Unions commission has turned to the Council of Ministers with a proposal to hold a joint plenary meeting in order to examine the current socio-economic situation in Poland as well as the initiatives of the Branch Unions movement.

According to a poll conducted by the Radio and TV Opinion Research Center recently the Polish society's approval for strike actions is gradually diminishing. 89 per cent of respondents described as justified the strikes of August 1980. The strikes of September 1980 and of January 1981 were termed as justified by only 67 and 62 per cent of respondents respectively. This downward trend has prevailed up to the present day, the only exception being the warning strike of March 27 proclaimed in the wake of Bydgoszcz events. The last one hour general strike of October 28 of this year has won the approval of no more than 46 per cent of Polish public opinion.

Posters, leaflets and other materials demanding the access of the Solidarnosc union to mass media and simultaneously attacking the Polish radio, television and some papers for spreading false information have been pasted up today in the streets of most cities of Poland which coincides with the inauguration of government-Solidarnosc talks on a range of issues including the union's access to the media.

PRIVATE FARMERS' STRIKE NEGOTIATIONS REPORTED

LD171342 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 17 Nov 81

[Correspondent (Ewa Grande) report from Torun]

[Text] The Torun NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers sit-in strike is in its 6th day.

A resolution issued by the striking farmers states that controversial issues connected with the implementation of the [word indistinct] of the Ustrzyki-Rzeszow agreements have been accumulating over a period of time. The resolution also states that among other things, the NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers is opposed to linked sales of livestock.

Let us recall that the list of demands established by the striking farmers relates to the Rzeszow agreements. A number of appendages have been added to the list of demands aimed at achieving an unequivocal interpretation of the demands.

We should also recall that on the first day of the strike, the Torun voivoda came forward with an initiative to commence talks with representatives of the protesting farmers. Negotiations did not, however, take place as the strike committee decided to postpone the talks until information was received concerning the results of the negotiations between the government commission and the commission of the National Founding Committee of NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers.

Yesterday afternoon, [words indistinct] the Torun voivoda presented new proposals to the striking farmers on the question of linked sales of livestock. In the communique issued by the Torun voivoda -- which contains 14 points and takes as its departure point the assumption that the farmers need primarily the means of production -- it is stated that, among other things, the Voivodship Union of Agricultural Cooperatives will ensure the full implementation of the allocation of equipment to the farmers in 1981, according to conditions existing before 1 November this year. Moreover, until 31 December of this year, the sale of nonrationed agricultural machinery at warehouses will be conducted according to current principles.

The communique also states: To eliminate speculation in the Torun Voivodship, the principle is in force whereby the farmer may apply for and receive only one item of equipment; in the case of tractors, one tractor may be allocated for 15 hectares of agricultural land.

The press spokesman of the voivodship strike committee, after acquainting himself with the contents of the voivoda's communique, stated that on the basis of the voivoda's proposals, it may be ascertained that the administrative authorities of the Torun Voivodship are attempting to render Resolution No 229 on (?linked sales) of livestock more realistic; nevertheless, no modified versions of this resolution are as yet acceptable to the striking farmers, because the striking farmers demand the annulment of the entire resolution for its being contradictory to the Rzeszow agreements.

RURAL CIRCLES DECLARE 'PROTEST READINESS'

LD171410 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 17 Nov 81

[Text] The Central Union of Agricultural Circles and Organizations has decided to take protest action. The cause: Council of Ministers' Resolution 229; nonfulfillment of pledges concerning constitutional guarantees of peasants' property; and the reduction in deliveries of tractors and mechanical equipment for the agricultural circles.

Representatives of the agricultural circles have proposed several of their own solutions: In order to completely guarantee the purchasing power of money, they propose revaluation of savings deposited in the cooperative banks and prepayment for machinery and building materials (?for) delivery in 2-3 two years' time.

Farmers from the agricultural cooperatives announce that protest readiness will be in force until tomorrow, and the protest proper will begin tomorrow, 18 November at noon.

Farmers Protest in Swidnica

LD171816 Wroclaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 17 Nov 81

[Text] The Walbrzych Voivodship PZPR Committee Executive met today. During the session the successes of agricultural work in Walbrzych Voivodship were assessed and the progress made in the report-back and election campaign in the Union of Socialist Polish Youth was analyzed. The session also discussed the current sociopolitical and economic situation in the voivodship. While this point on the agenda was being discussed, the member of the voivodship committee executive were informed of a protest action which was started in Swidnica by the Voivodship Union of Agricultural Circles and Organization. (Roman Norbert), a secretary of the voivodship committee, and (Adela Szarke), head of the Department for Agriculture, Forestry and Purchasing, immediately went to Swidnica. Here is a report by (Marek Szewczyk) from Swidnica:

[Begin recording] At 1100 about 30 farmers who are representatives of NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers entered the conference hall of the Voivodship Union of Agricultural Circles and Organizations in Swidnica where a conference of chairmen of councils of agricultural cooperatives and circles was being held. (Kazimierz Beltowski), chairman of the voivodship Union of Private Farmers, read a resolution which expresses the solidarity of the Walbrezych Voivodship farmers who are members of the union with the striking farmers in Torun and Siedlce. The farmers have occupied the building of the Voivodship Union of Agricultural Circles and Organizations and are still here.

The Inter-Parish Protest Committee of NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers in Swidnica has appealed to the voivodship Founding Committee of NSZZ Solidarity in the protest action. Farmers from the parishes of Dobromierz, Marcinowice, Jaworzyna Slaska, Strzegom, Swidnica and Zarow who are members NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers are currently supporting the Swidnica sit-in strike.

Eleven factory organizations in Swidnica which belong to the Solidarity union have supported the farmers' protest action. In the statement published today we read among other things: Should force be used against the striking farmers, our union will not remain passive and will consider the possibility of embarking on a Solidarity action.

The striking farmers have also put forward a number of demands. Dominant among the demands are a request for their own building and a request for retracting the increased prices for mechanical services to farmers. They are also protesting against the so-called "linked" sales. [end recording]

RAKOWSKI INTERVIEW: 'FRONT OF NATIONAL ACCORD'

AU171625 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 14-15 Nov 81 pp 1, 3

[Janusz Stefanowicz interview with Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski: "Accord -- Let Us Decipher That Incantation" -- date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] Drowning, we have grasped at the sheet anchor in the enchanted word "accord." This has two facets: the line of accord and a front of accord. The line of accord is the readiness of the authorities to settle conflict by means of dialogue and agreement, and not with any confrontation. On the other hand, a front of accord signifies a concept of expanding the sphere of governing in Poland, a concept that has various interpretations. Those two formulas are interdependent and mutually supplementary, but not identical. Thus let us begin with the line of accord. Is it a deliberate political strategy, or a sign of helplessness, because there are such opinions, too.

[Answer] The line of accord is a political concept adopted by the party more than a year ago. Under the conditions of the grave crisis and tension, the choice of the platform of dialogue and consultation was a highly important decision. That choice was dictated not only by the existing conditions, but also by experience. In other terms, the history of creating a socialist formation on Polish soil dictated the choice of precisely that line. I regard the consistent pursuit of that line as a great success of the party. True, the line of accord has been repeatedly and still is being attacked. Extremists of every breed oppose it more or less resolutely. In our own ranks I have heard that it was the selling out of socialism. Thus I also ask in a principled way: What other option was and is there? What were the other proposals? Maybe only a settlement by force. Those who attack the line of dialogue and peaceful settlements should go to workers collectives, to miners, and tell them straight: We have a different proposal. But what proposal? The line of accord is undoubtedly a line of struggle for the hearts and minds of people. It is a line which requires enormous patience, fortitude, as well as great ability to apply means and methods making it possible to achieve goals which are by no means simple.

[Question] The lack of an alternative does not guarantee success. There are people who, for various reasons, turn down the "settlement by force," but who do not see any achievements of the line of accord, and that makes them desperate.

[Answer] It is not true that there are no achievements. Notwithstanding the incredible tensions, not a single drop of blood has been shed in Poland since August 1980. That is an enormous success of the authorities and of the whole society. Who can tell what Poland would look like today if we did not persistently pursue the line of accord? Extremists of all orientations and many Solidarity leaders would be well advised to consider this question. That line was and is correct. Obviously, this does not mean that this line must be regarded as dogma. For example, if in Poland a force emerged that considered it appropriate to bring about confrontation, not political confrontation, then obviously we would have had to reexamine the purposefulness of continuing the line of accord. Because that would mean that social and political relations were shaping against our wishes.

[Question] The very concept of a "line" implies a process subject to changing circumstances; thus it is not a formula carved in stone.

[Answer] A line implies elasticity in tactics, but also something more: the need to take into account both successes and setbacks in confronting the live matter of social tensions. Only in that case can we endure the storm without abandoning the helm. On the other hand, if the line of accord does not always bring the expected results, we must examine the causes: Is it our own clumsiness, or the partner's unwillingness? My own experiences show that clumsiness on the part of the authorities (there are various reasons for it) is not an abstract idea, but neither, in many cases, is the partner's unwillingness to jointly pursue that line.

[Question] There is the view that the line of accord has become so thin and vague that, to pursue it in earnest, it would be necessary to draw up a sort of balance sheet and to begin a new stage, or to eliminate the arrears; for example, to settle all issues stemming from the August agreements, which either have not been settled at all or settled in a defective way, or which emerged and became pressing later.

[Answer] I do not see any chance for tracing a new starting line, because today, more than even a few months ago, the political and psychological situation determines the fluid and constantly deteriorating state of the economy. All our ideas and concepts, even the most beautiful, may prove to be helpless if the economic situation continues to be subject to further destruction. Unfortunately, there are no signs of transition to the stage of stabilization, rather the contrary. What contributes to the process of economic disintegration -- I do not hestitate to use this term -- are not only the sins committed by the country's governing apparatus, but also strikes whose psychological effects are even greater than the economic ones. The strikes keep minds in a state of constant unrest, result in underestimating the economic situation, and -- intentionally or unintentionally -- introduce in the political sphere the elements of power struggle, frequently for trivial reasons ridiculous to impartial observers.

[Question] If the economic situation is as it is, and if the talks are so unsuccessful, we must find other motives for bringing Poland out of the bewitched circle of helplessness. It was precisely against that background that the idea of a front of national accord emerged. The palpable popularity of that idea arises not only from the search for the last chance to wake up the people and to inspire their confidence in the authorities, but also from the general awareness that the old structures of power virtually contradict the post-August realities and the revived aspirations of society, and even threaten with power erosion in general, or the loss of state independence. However, that popularity is in a way unreliable. It implies the vagueness of the very concept, and the variety and even differences in the ideas connected with it.

[Answer] As far as the structures are concerned, I consider that all of them contradict the post-August realities. There are state structures that have justified themselves and that should remain. But let us go back to the idea of a front of national accord. It is undoubtedly a very attractive idea. I am really happy that the proposal voiced by Wojciech Jaruzelski at the most recent Sejm session met with a vivid and favorable response. I think that idea has a significant tradition. Let us have a look at the initial years of People's Poland. For example, in matters crucial to the country, the Catholic camp promptly began to move toward accord with the Marxists; of course, not in questions concerning the system, but in several other highly important issues; for example of rebuilding the country, of physically restoring the people, and of consolidating our new presence in western lands. Yet political differences were then significant. Thus, national accord has its tradition which we must fall back upon. Unfortunately, in the years that followed the idea of accord was to a large extent replaced by the artificial formula of national unity, and we must not return to it. It would take too long to examine in detail the circumstances under which that change took place.

[Question] In other words, accord among various orientations and views for the benefit of common national goals, and not for the sake of an apparent uniformity?

[Answer] Yes, indeed, but at the same time a common denominator in the shape of accepting the socialist system. I am against pretending and mutual outmaneuvering as far as that fundamental issue [socialist system] is concerned. It is good in an Indian game, but not in politics.

[Question] Let us dot the "i." This signifies the supreme condition for observing the constitutional principles, which was so clearly emphasized in the communique issued after the meeting of our native "big three."

[Answer] The formula used in the communique is very important and accurately reflects the view of General Jaruzelski, who quite correctly considers that the interests of the people and of socialism do not permit any ambiguities. That was a very honest presentation of the issue, and we expect the same from the partners.

[Question] What do you mean, honesty or acceptance?

[Answer] Both acceptance and honesty. The feasibility of a front of accord depends on the complete honesty of all partners and on the renunciation of every pretense, of conspiratorial signs and of calculations -- let us try and see.

[Question] We assume that all probable adherents to the front of national accord will honestly accept the constitutional principle of the party's leading role. However, I am sorry to say that what ensues from that in the present realities is devilishly little. The monopoly of power was previously a synonym of the leading role of the party. That fusion [zbitka] has now split into an alternative: either monopoly or real power. Thus it is necessary to widen the base of power. The question arises: What for? To preserve power altogether, or to improve it and to adapt to social needs? And if the latter, what should be the characteristic features of the leading role of the party in the new interpretation?

[Answer] Each of your sentences is a subject in itself and a big one at that. I will then restrict myself to a few remarks. First of all, the idea of a front is not a tactical move aimed at enabling the party to survive the difficult period; it arises from a profound analysis of the balance of social and political forces active in Poland at the threshold of the current decade. Such analyses were made previously, before August. I would be able to quote more than one name. We are now at the stage of their materialization. Certainly, I agree that, while initiating a front of national accord, the party has been confronted with very difficult and complex tasks. It is obvious to me that its place and authority in the front will not depend on any constitutional clause, on appeals or so-called strong words, but on the strength of the arguments. That is the fundamental feature of the concept of accord (not only from the party's point of view). It puts on the agenda the way the party performs its leading role.

No matter what people "learned" in Marxism say and no matter what principled words various seminar and forum participatns shout, the communist party in People's Poland cannot maintain its leading role as accepted by the whole society or by its overwhelming majority otherwise, but by the strength of its arguments and by its correct policy subject to verification within the framework of national accord. This is not an opportunist recipe, but a logical conclusion from a close and businesslike analysis of the balance of social and political forces in Poland on the threshold of the current decade. In the current decade the party must not remain a loney wanderer on the Polish plains; it must cross them along with the whole nation, and the nation has to be convinced of the correct direction of the route. That means that the epoch of commands has passed without return not only in the economy, but also in politics.

[Question] I think that every potential front participant could subscribe to such general views. However, rather different, and occasionally polemically assessed, concepts of the future front of national accord have already emerged.

[Answer] Some politicians and journalists have coined a new formula: party-church-solidarity. In my opinion, such a formula is unacceptable in our country.

[Question] While rapidly taking notes, I only put down the initials: PCS [Party, Church, Solidarity]: Thus, in your opinion, that is not a vehicle that could convey us into the future?

[Answer] I think it is not, because it would be another simplification of the reality, another form of dogmatism or perhaps even of factionalism.

[Question] This is a strong statement, but is it correct? What matters here are great political and social forces....

[Answer] I say it is both strong and correct. Great forces? Certainly great, but that is not all. For example, let us take the conventional element "P" [party]. But what can you do with the United Peasant Party, the Democratic Party, youth and women's organizations and so forth? Somebody could answer: Do they belong to the party? What is striking in such an answer is contempt for everyone who does not constitute an equal force. There is a sentence against all left-wing groups: You are condemned to be the party's satellites. Who would accept that? For example, how can one negate the independent role of the United Peasant Party with more than a century-old tradition as a progressive peasants' movement? If I were a member of that party, I would loudly protest against all those who, while professing the formula of the three forces, actually disregard all other forces. Can one speak about partnership in such a case? Indeed, this is not the way to "socialism for the entire nation." Neigher is it the way to the rebirth of the leading role of the party, which can only be truly recognized by forces with the feeling of independence, of their own identity and of ideological authenticity in the field of socialism as a system in Poland.

[Question] You have outlined the political formula of the front. But what about its goals and functions?

[Answer] A front of national accord may become an essential factor in rebuilding those structures of the socialist system (of a system, but not of the social organism!) that needs rebuilding, because they have become obsolete and do not meet the social needs of the decade.

[Question] A structure for changing the structure?

[Answer] Well, sir, you like very elegant figures of speech. Not a structure, but I would rather hope a promising experience. While advancing the idea of a front of national accord, we enter a new terrain, fascinating from the point of view of a creative search for a system solution most advantageous for the Polish nation and for conscious socialist formation. We still do not know exactly what substance the front should have, and probably no one knows that. At the present stage, it is mythical thinking that endangers the idea of the front: Open sesame!... Meanwhile, the formation of the front will only mark the beginning not only of the concept, but also of the position of that institution within the political system of the current decade.

[Question] In other words, the front is being formed on credit, on double credit at that: The credit of confidence to be given by forces or persons willing to participate in it, and social credit for the very institution.

[Answer] This is a pointed remark, but I would specify the term "credit" as "social calm." Without social calm, the idea of the front will be suspended in the air. I have serious misgivings whether social calm will come about in the immediate future. I say "immediate," because we do not speak about a very remote issue. A front of national accord must be formed immediately, and not after a year, must it not? It is a fact that in the Poland of 1981 there are active not only the forces of renewal, but there also exist and act reactionary forces, such as the Confederation for an Independent Poland, which programmatically fight socialism. One cannot discuss the future under artillery fire.

[Question] This time you are not original. Even the Romans used to say "inter arma silent musae."

[Answer] As one of your books shows, there are many repetitions in the world... However, while going back to the front of national accord, I ask the question: Will the Poles be able to achieve the initial agreement on several fundamental issues (in addition to accepting the constitutional principles discussed above); namely:

-- Do we indeed want to work? It is a simple, but fundamental question;

-- Do we accept a perceptible belt-tightening for a period of 2-3 years?

-- Will we all together be able to respect the partners?

[Question] On the last point, I note a line of accord between Rakowski as journalist and Rakowski as deputy premier.

[Answer] This time I emphasize: All of us. Without having answered that simple question, the front of accord will only be another illusion. And let me make one more remark: Whoever joins the front of accord must do so not only with -- let us term it this way -- a controlled consciousness, but also a self-controlled consciousness.

[Question] Even it if is rather difficult, let us assume that both parties and organizations, as well as society as a whole, positively answer the aforesaid three questions. What happens next and what is the probable scenario for events?

[Answer] First of all, Premier Jaruzeslki, as the author of the idea, will set up a initiatory group which will ask persons representing all political and ideological trends to join in the work of a council of national accord. For example, it will ask Mr Walesa whether he himself will participate in the council or will delegate some of his political friends. In my opinion, the council should actually perform the functions of a provisional presidium of the front of national accord.

[Question] Here we are; again a presidium. Could we not start from the bottom -- from communes, self-managing bodies and groups?

[Answer] Point one, there is no time; and point two, should only things created "from the bottom" be reliable? The council should begin its activity immediately. On the one hand, what matters is to draft a program for activity aimed at restoring links between society and power centers, as well as to see to it that those links, restored as much as possible, will not be violated again. On the other hand, what matters is to begin working on a vision of accord and living together among the Poles in the eighties.

[Question] You mean a vision of our native, original, developing socialism?

[Answer] Yes, indeed, because, notwithstanding all difficulties, we have a unique chance today to rebuild the political and economic structures, a chance to free the creative forces of the Polish people; creative forces both in their origins and effects. For this reason intellectual competition among various proposals and concept must constitute the essence of the front of national accord. This is the only way to make use of the creative forces inherent in our nation. The party can be the leading force in creating such conditions. Evidence of this area are some periods in the past: the years 1945-48 and the short periods following October 1956 and December 1970.

[Stefanowicz] If only we do not waste the chance, we the society, the authorities and Poland.

OLSZOWSKI INTERVIEWED ON PRESS DISPUTE

AU171513 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 13-15 Nov 81 pp 1, 3, 4

[Unattributed report: "We Do Not Want To Be Yes-Men -- SZTANDAR MLODYCH Team Meets Stefan Olszowski"]

[Excerpts] The facts: On 15 October in the evening, Jacek Nachyla ceased to be the chief editor [of SZTANDAR MLODYCH] because he had published an interview with Jacek Kuron on 9 October.

On 16 October in the afternoon: the [SZTANDAR MLODYCH] team adopted a resolution protesting that decision. We wanted to defend our chief editor. The text of the resolution was sent to the Fourth PZPR Plenum in Warsaw.

On 16 October just before midnight: The printing workers from the Home of the Polish Word (DSP) unanimously supported our position.

On 17 October: STANDAR MLODYCH described the protest action and explained the motives for the protest. On that day the caption "Edited by the Team" appeared without listing names. Also the Warsaw branch of the Association of Polish Journalists adopted a resolution on our case.

On 21 October the Executive Committee of the basic party organization met with Stefan Olszowski, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, and agreed that S. Olszowski would meet the [SZTANDAR MLODYCH] team after the Fifth PZPR Plenum.

On 27 October the team met with Stefan Bratkowski, chairman of the Association of Polish Journalists, and with Sejm Deputy Karol Malcuzynski.

On 6 November at 1400 S. Olszowski was at the SZTANDAR MLODYCH editorial office and held an open meeting for 3 hours.

The meeting was introduced by Oskar Bramski, first secretary of the SZTANDAR MLODYCH basic party organization, who presented the organization's position.

"The SZTANDAR MLODYCH basic party organization of the editorial board takes the view that the decision to dismiss Chief Editor Jacek Nachyla without consulting the party organization constitutes a serious violation of the norms of democratic centralism and is in conflict with the Ninth PZPR Congress programmatic resolution, which states, inter alia: 'It is necessary to implement the new statutory principles of the party apparatus' activities and of the recruitment of its personnel and to observe the principle of the party apparatus' serving role vis-a-vis party levels and organizations as well as the priciple of eliminating the practice by which the elected bodies' and the state apparatus' work is done for them and of preventing the activities that ignore or defy the collective decisions made by the party authorities.'

"The congress programmatic resolution also contains this statement: 'Basic organizations are the fundamental organizational element of the party. They should take a stand both on the general issues of party policy and on the issues arising in their own milieus. We are for strengthening the independence and responsibility of the basic party organizations and for these organizations' observing the general principles of the functioning of the party and the uniform and disciplined implementation of its resolutions.'

"The basic party organization takes the view that the Central Committee Press, Radio and Television Department has for the second time violated the norms of democratic centralism by appointing Andrzej Ziemski without in any way consulting the party organization.

"The basic party organization takes the view that Comrade Jacek Nachyla through his activities has always implemented the party line consistently and resolutely, has acted in line with the resolution of the Ninth PZPR Congress, has always observed the principles of the PZPR and is a loyal and disciplined member of the PZPR.

"The SZTANDAR MLODYCH basic party organization of the editorial board takes the view that the party line implemented by SZTANDAR MLODYCH decidedly coincides with the ninth congress programmatic resolution and the fourth plenum resolution.

"This is also reflected in our party organization's specific activities. In the aftermath of August 1980, when party members of many other organizations were surrendering their party cards, our party organization increased by four members. Now another person has applied to be admitted to our organization, which is all the more important since this involves young people who are moved by ideological reasons and not by parochial interests.

"Beginning by publishing the 21 Gdansk demands through all our political and publishing activities, we have decidedly backed the socialist renewal in our country and the line of social consensus, while rejecting all extremes. However, we have always believed that that line is possible only within socialism and within the framework defined by the PZPR's policy and program."

Stefan Olszowski: I would like to begin by stating that SZTANDAR MLODYCH is a daily published by our party for young people. As a party organization of such a daily, it is your task to foster party policy among young people. The fourth plenum resolution is binding on all party members and on those colleagues who do not belong to the party, but who have decided to work for SZTANDAR MLODYCH. I would like to cite an excerpt from that resolution, which is binding on you, on me and on Comrade Tokarski: "The Central Committee deems it necessary for the party to launch an extensive political offensive. The information and propaganda media are the party's important weapon in the struggle for socialist awareness. The ideological criteria of Marxism-Leninism are absolutely binding on the party press. The Central Committee instructs the Politburo and the Central Committee Secretariat to take the necessary measures to strengthen the party management of the mass media of information and propaganda."

I tell you quite clearly: It is necessary to be for that resolution or against it. He who is for it should also be for its consequences and he who is against it should also take the consequences and consider working in the publications that do not pose such requirements.

As for Jacek Nachyla's dismissal, the reason for it was the publication of the well-known interview with Jacek Kuron. The party leadership was taken aback by that publication, and we thought it necessary to have a talk with editor Nachyla. Frankly, we had no intention of dismissing him. During the talk Comrade Nachyla said that he thought it had been right to publish that interview and that it had been a good journalistic performance.

That interview has made a man who is an enemy of our party popular, and this is why we could not avoid taking measures. We took the necessary measures and dismissed Comrade Nachyla as chief editor.

As for the interview itself, we appreciate that the interviews tried to make their feelings toward Kuron obvious in their questions. There is no doubt about that, but Kuron said just what he wanted to say.

I know that the interview was one of the series of interviews with Solidarity functionaries. Your interview with Lis was good. You laid his true self bare. But you failed in the case of Kuron. If that interview had been accompanied by an article illustrating Kuron's true self and polemizing with his views, it would be possible to imagine that the whole thing could have been published. But as it was, the Kuron interview should not have been published. And that is our grudge against Comrade Jacek Nachyla.

I would say that Editor Nachyla may feel sore. I have experienced several such moments in my own political career and I know that a dismissal is nothing pleasant. But I also want to say that we have no intention of dismissing Comrade Nachyla as a journalist nor of denying his prospects for jobs at leading posts.

We have adopted a resolution signed by the four organizations active within the SZTANDAR MLODYCH office. You say in your resolution that the dismissal in question conflicts with the ninth congress resolution, that you do not acknowledge this dismissal and that you will use all means of protest aimed at invalidating the dismissal decision. The language of your resolution is the "Solidarity" language.

As you wished, the Fourth PZPR Plenum was informed of this case. I presented it to the plenum and Comrade Siwak brought it up during the discussion. The plenum acknowledged the decision to dismiss Jacek Nachyla, and no one questioned it, which means that it was sanctioned by the Central Committee.

You have carried out various actions. I can understand, but not support them. I question these actions. They say that attempts have been made to bring up the matter in the Sejm. If so, then this is not in line with good practice. After all, this is an internal party matter. There was also a meeting with the Association of Polish Journalists. One journalist told you not to acknowledge our decision. I do not want to judge such advice, but it was in fact an appeal to disrupt the order prevailing in our country. I propose that it is precisely such a statement that should not be acknowledged, especially since it originated with a former party member.

As for the future of the case in question.... We are handling Comrade Nachyla's prospects. We have appointed your colleague, Comrade Ziemski, as your chief. I appeal to you to rally around him and to continue to publish a good daily.

I am very interested in listening to your discussion, but I would like to stress one thing: Although I am a soft person, I am a determined person. That is why I will not budge on fundamental issues, and you should not try to make me budge. On the other hand, I will listen keenly to all other remarks, including criticism of me personally.

Jacek Nachyla: I am present at this meeting because I am a member of this party organization. Comrade secretary, I would like to thank you twice. First, because you have told me that you have been dismissed from higher posts on several occasions. I candidly admit that I value the knowledge of that and find it easier to swallow what has happened to me.

Second, I would like to thank you for your attempt to adduce crucial evidence to prove my error of publishing the Kuron interview. I say "attempt" because I have accepted your arguments, although I do not agree with all of them. However, this is not the time to discuss this question.

My thanks are due to the fact that up to now I have had no opportunity -- unfortunately -- to talk with anyone. I bear a grudge in this connection against the head of the department and his deputy because -- aside from such laconic statements as Kuron "has made it" and Kuron has in fact won and not lost -- they have said nothing else. Their arguments were too shallow to convince me that I made a political mistake. Honestly, I do not know the effects of that interview. If I knew them, then perhaps I would be able to understand more readily the political error I have been accused of. I will tell you honestly -- I said this to Comrade Tokarski -- why I was convinced that the Kuron interview should be published. There were three reasons: For the first time young Polish journalists of a youth, vanguard and militant daily were able to officially tell the enemy Kuron to his face that he was antisocialist. Perhaps this was not enough, but I tell you I was pleased with that.

I was pleased also because for the first time, the journalists from the paper I was in charge of told Kuron to his face that they did not agree with his views. Finally, this also constituted an assertion that Kuron lived off of selling his views for hard currency. And this he admitted himself. These were the reasons why I let the interview be published. I confess that it was my error not to consult the issue of publication, but the reasons for this were technical, and perhaps due to other considerations, which is another matter.

Why did my colleagues speak so much about the line of accord, dialogue and so on? Well, I keenly remember the thesis proclaimed during the Fifth PZPR Plenum, following the Eighth PZPR Congress, when whatever was taking place in the country, especially in Gdansk, was defined as a manifestation of "social discontent." At that time it was said that it was important that the party head this social discontent. That was the party's only chance. Perhaps I am not repeating word for word what I remembered at the time, but those were the intentions that inspired me when I edited our paper together with my colleagues. Things were not easy for us journalists, not even after the publication of the 21 demands which -- in my view -- was the first attempt to recover our credibility and trust vis-a-vis our readers. To be honest, this attempt was a torpedoed attempt to some extent. As I was told, it was torpedoed mainly because the thing was done by SZTANDAR MLODYCH and not by TRYBUNA LUDU. I accepted this argument. It was just in such a way that we began attempting to publish our paper in line with social accord and dialogue. We tried to publish it together up to the moment when the Kuron interview appeared. I think that the continuation of this will follow, but it was not only the publication of the Lis interview, which you, comrade secretary, described as good, that encouraged me to make such attempts. We have published many such interviews and talks, but not all of them were entirely successful, although all of them met with an identical lively response from the people. People did simply respond, which means that I -- doing such work -- did respond to some extent to the demands of the people. My view was that one should not spread propaganda against people's wishes. This cannot be done. I said the same thing in the office of the comrade who is the departmental head. I said that making propaganda by publishing commentaries and inducing readers to read between the lines is a misunderstanding. Why? What for? Why do that when propaganda can be dispensed in a simpler, even more primitive manner? Of course, that involves a modicum of risk. But if we do not trust one another, and if party members do not trust us, then such activities will be really almost impossible to implement. The propaganda activities I tried to pursue in our daily were opposed by those above me. This opposition was incomprehensible and unnecessary. It was simply a misunderstanding.

I must say that people here made it much easier for me to leave this editorial board. Frankly, I did not expect that they would respond in the way they have responded, although I knew and warned that my dismissal would elicit a response from the team. What these people have done for me, Jacek Nachyla, who was the chief editor, was of really enormous worth.

I found out one thing: That it is worth being a human being, and that people know how to value this. During the debates in the Press Commission of the Ninth PZPR Congress, I listened to a comrade's speech who asked for more red color in publications.

It is natural and obvious that our party papers should be red. But let us look the truth in the eye. What if I publish the reddest possible paper and no one will buy it...? What if I publish the reddest possible article and no one will read it? It seems to me that our propaganda should be graded and comprehensive and should not be importunate. We must use all possible methods of work, including the risky ones I have used. What matters is intentions and aims as well as the effectiveness of our party propaganda measures.

Stefan Olszowski: I will begin by stating that I am very pleased with Comrade Jacek Nachyla's statement. I have simply expanded by view of him. I think he is a communist, an honest human being and editor, which, of course, does not change my view of the decision that affected him. We should distinguish between these things. As for Comrade Nachyla, he is a party soldier and will be appointed to a new post. I think that he will continue to march on the same line, regardless of the experience -- no doubt difficult -- he has gone through.

Please forgive me if I do not discuss all the issues brought up by this meeting, because there are so many of them and they are so important that they are too much for the framework of a single statement.

The first issue concerns the Kuron interview in relation to the Jaruzelski-Glemp-Walesa meeting. We have to approach this issue with great precision. I think that we should not confuse the various concepts relating to the question of national consensus, although they may sound similar by definition. However, they are in their essence quite different. When Kuron suggests a new concept of government and when Reiff [Pax chairman] suggests a concept of a coalition governement, their concepts have nothing in common with the concept of expanding the base of government we have put forward, and nothing in common with the concept of a national consensus front.

The probliem is not definition, but the attitude toward the system of power in Poland -- toward the social system in Poland. Kuron's concept, the concepts circulated by some sections of Solidarity and those present in some papers issued by the Experience and Future Group (DIP) actually reduce the concept of the national salvation government to a system of power in Poland composed of three forces: The Catholic Church, Solidarity and our party. The adoption of this concept leads to basic changes in the system and would result in questioning our party's position and, consequently, to eliminating it from the system of power or, at best, to reducing it to small importance. Nothing doing. The party and all thinking people cannot go for the concept of a socioeconomic council as suggested by Solidarity.

That is a concept for dual power. Creating such a situation would be tantamount to placing Poland on the brink of a civil war, or on the brink of some other exceptionally dangerous situation. There is no question, we will not go for that. That is why it is also impossible to evaluate today the Kuron interview in other terms.

Our proposal for consensus means that we want to set up a platform for consultations, in which representatives of all social forces, including the church, would participate. The church has already designated its representatives to participate in such a front of consensus. Solidarity has still not taken a stand on our proposal, and it will certainly make an error if it fails to accept our offer. We speak of the concept of a platform of consultation and not of changing the character of executive power.

The second issue concerns expanding the social base of government. Too many posts have been reserved for the decision by our party. We want to change that consistently, but this does not mean that the party can give up its leading role.

As for the Jaruzelski-Glemp-Walesa meeting itself, our side did not indulge in sweet words during it. Very determined words were used -- and not only by our party -- to show what role Solidarity should play as a trade union. The result of that was the publication of the Solidarity National Commission Presidium's letter of 5 November, signed by Lech Walesa.

One more issue. Why do I revoke the fourth plenum? This is not abuse. Your case was discussed by the fourth plenum, whose resolution is binding. The point is not that you are in conflict with Secretary Olszowski because of your declaration and protest action. That would be a small difficulty. Because of your protest action you have found yourselves in conflict with the resolution adopted by the Central Committee Secretariat and with the Central Committee. You must draw conclusions from that. I recommended your Executive Committee to end the protest action, which was at that time possible. As you yourselves say, various people get on to you, and you have found yourselves in a difficult situation and have become a subject of a political situation that is awkward for you. It depends on you to a great extent how this case is settled. I think you will find your own solution.

On the issue of whether the dissolution of your paper was discussed and whether this was a whim, I will tell you -- I who am responsible for Nachyla's dismissal -- that we in the leadership are not moved by whims, but by the evaluation of the situation. I tell you this also because I do not think that this conflict within SZTANDAR MLODYCH should lead to breaking people's characters. On the contrary, the point is that we should find a common position even after a most heated discussion and that we should demonstrate the necessary party discipline. After all, we are in struggle, and our party's mission is to ensure that this struggle is waged by political methods.

Comrade Mickiewicz told us here about the great cost of the compromises agreed to by the party. I want to defend those compromises, many of which were made in order to avoid the results of the conflict situations that lead to street riots and perhaps to bloodshed. Today the power apparatus can afford to be more resolute. This was the case when Solidarity's march was stopped at the rondo [roundabout in Warsaw] and when a rally in the Radio Committee was prevented. One aspect of our responsibility is to keep the development of events in Poland within defined limits.

As for the formula of your paper, we want to see your paper as the paper of our party addressed to specific readers. I will not quarrel about whether SZTANDAR MLODYCH is to be a paper linked to the party or a party paper. This daily is published by a party publishing house and we regard it as a party paper, which does not mean that it should be identical with other party papers. SZTANDAR MLODYCH should be able to profit from more extensive liberty and a greater degree of freedom. On the other hand, it is impossible to set apart how the paper is to serve the party's strategy and how the party's tactics. These two issues must be viewed simultaneously and in parallel.

Aleksandra Jakubowska: I would like to ask you again the question you did not answer: Does the comrade believe that our party organization was treated properly when the decision to dismiss Jacek Nachyla was made?

Stefan Olszowski: As for treatment, I do not think that my treatment of you was bad. Nor do I think that Comrades Tokarski and Grzelak treated you badly. It is true that some views did clash, but it is more important that we should part in an atmosphere of friendship and not of grudges.

MOKRZYSZCZAK, KOCIOLEK AT FACTORY CONFERENCE

LD180352 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0100 GMT 18 Nov 81

[Text] A programmatic PZPR factory conference was held yesterday at the Warszawa iron and steelworks. Present were among others: Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, Politburo candidate member and party Central Committee secretary, and Stanislaw Kociolek, Warsaw committee first secretary. In the course of the discussion the delegates criticized sharply some activities of Solidarity but at the same time stressed the need for cooperation with trade unions.

WOZNIAK, PIOTROWSKI AT TALKS ON SOSNOWIEC

LD171920 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 17 Nov 81

[Text] Our Katowice correspondent reports on the meeting of the Sosnowiec party aktiv mainly from the mining workforces, representatives of the central and voivodship party authorities, and the leadership of the Ministry of Mining and Power Industry.

[Correspondent] The political situation in the town following the recent events in the Sosnowiec mine was discussed. In the letter, read during the meeting, from the Sosnowiec party municipal committee it is proposed that the chairman of the Katowice Voivodship People's Council set up a commission composed of councilors in order to elucidate the circumstances of the incident in front of the coal mine and of the consequent events.

It also proposes that a commission be established in order to ellucidate the political circumstances of the Sosnowiec events.

The meeting is attended by PZPR Central Committee Secretary Marian Wozniak; First Secretary of the Katowice Voivodship Party Committee Andrzej Zabinski; and Minister of Mining and Power Industry Gen Czeslaw Piotrowski.

Explanations Demanded

LD180932 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0200 GMT 18 Nov 81

[Text] A meeting of party activists was held yesterday in Sosnowiec. The situation in the municipal organization of the PZPR in connection with the recent strike in the Sosnowiec mine was discussed at the meeting. The following participated in the meeting: Marian Wozniak, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; Gen Czeslaw Piotrowski, minister of mining and power; and Andrzej Zabinski, first secretary of the Katowice Voivodship Party Committee. It was stated during the discussion that the strike in the Sosnowiec mine had deeply shaken the inhabitants of the town. Everyone welcomed with a feeling of relief the agreement on ending this action. Many organizations hold the view, however, that the political aspect of this conflict has been minimized, and it was precisely this aspect that made party members opposed to the strike. Many issues surrounding strike conflict in Sosnowiec are still unclear. The course the events took and the decisions of authorities at various levels were once again analyzed at the meeting. Everything must be thoroughly explained, the participants in the meeting demanded.

The Secretariat of the Municipal Committee in Sosnowiec has worked out a document which is addressed to Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. The document contains a proposal that a special commission of the Central Party Control Commission assess the stance of the works, municipal and voivodship and party organizations during the strike in the Sosnowiec mine. (?It appeals to) Zbigniew Massner, member of the Central Committee Poliburo, who holds the post of the chairman of the Katowice Voivodship People's Council, to set up a special commission to assess the activities of the administrative authorities of the voivodship and of the town in this conflict and to supervise directly the work of this commission.

ZIELONA GORA COUNCIL ENDS LOCAL SITUATION TALKS

LD171240 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1000 GMT 17 Nov 81

[Excerpts] The session of the Zeilona Gora Voivodship People's Council, which was devoted to the current socioeconomic situation of the voivodship and to an assessment of the state of safety, public order and observance of law, ended last night after 15 hours of deliberations.

After the organizers of the strike-protest action, who were present at the session, had presented their stance, a discussion, which was polemical at times, was held. Solidarity representatives and representatives of the majority of the workforce of the Lubogora state agricultural farm who had not gone on strike took the floor in the discussion. The view was expressed that the conflict in this economic unit, which is being prolonged indefinitely, ought to be resolved by the workforce itself. Both sides came to the conclusion that it ought to be solved by means of referendum among the entire workforce of the Lubogora agricultural enterprise.

During the discussion, in view of the accusations made against the voivodship authorities of having unclean hands and lacking good will in settling the contenious Lubogora conflict, proposals were made to adopt a vote of no-confidence with regard to representatives of the voivodship authorities, including the voivoda and deputy voivoda.

In Chairman of the Voivodship People's Council Henryk Stawski's statement, it is said that in view of the proposals submitted by the councilors and petitions of the workforces of work enterprises in the matter of recalling the voivoda, the voivodship People's Council Presidium will examine this issue in detail. It was decided to adopt the proposal of Minister Hupalowski to send Zielona Gora a ministerial commission to examine the grounds for the accusations submitted at the session of the voivodship People's Council with regard to the voivoda. The voivodship People's Council Presidium will present its stand to the council at a session in December of this year. The Preisdium emphasized its satisfaction at the suspension of the strike in the voivodship and the support for all positive initiatives aimed at the resolving of the dispute in Lubogora by the workforce of that enterprise by means of inter-union agreement.

The assessment of the observance of the law in the voivodship which was presented in the course of the session does not point to any serious violation of the principles of law and order in the work of the authorities and state administration bodies. However, in view of the confidence on the part of the community in the organs of the socialist state, this issue needs to be examined thoroughly. The community ought to be given up-to-date information on the outcome of checks and possible penal proceedings. It transpires from the assessment of the state of safety and public order in the region that a certain deterioration of social discipline has occurred in Zielona Gora Voivodship. The voivodship People's Council has defined precisely in a resolution tasks for the voivoda which are designed to increase the effectiveness of the struggle for the observance and consolidation of legal order in all its forms.

The socioeconomic situation of the region is very difficult after the 3-week long destructive strike. The backlog in industrial production for the past 10 months now exceeds Z7.2 billion. The annual housing plan and investment projects plan will not be fulfilled. The councilors pointed out in the discussion the need to use every opportunity to save the construction plan and to make up for the production losses incurred as a result of the strike.

Deputy Chairman Elected

LD171604 Warsaw PAP in Russian 1500 GMT 17 Nov 81

[Excerpts] Warsaw, 17 Nov (PAP) -- A session of the Zielona Gora Voivodship People's Council devoted to the current sociopolitical situation in the voivodship and to an assessment of the state of security, social order and observance of the law, ended during the night of 16-17 November after 15 hours of deliberations.

The voivodship People's Council has elected Colonel Walerian Mikolajczak to the post of deputy chairman of the voivodship People's Council.

SIXTH ZSL PLENUM RECONVENES IN WARSAW 17 NOV

LD171304 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1230 GMT 17 Nov 81

[Text] The Sixth ZSL Supreme Committee Plenum has been resumed in Warsaw. Today's session represented a continuation of the plenary session whcih was held 10 days ago.

At the outset of the session, Roman Malinowski, chairman of the Supreme Committee of the ZSL, reported on the meetings with Premier Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; Edward Kowalczyk, chairman of the SD Central Committee; the primate of Poland, Jozef Glemp; and with the leadership of other organizations. The content of these talks, Roman Malinowski stressed, focused on issues concerning overcoming the crisis and the creation of structures of the front of national accord of which the ZSL, as a political representation of forces, is an active advocate.

Next, an examination of organizational issues which are connected with changes in the Presidium and Secretariat of the Supreme Committee of the ZSL began.

Plenum Officials Elected

LD171910 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 17 Nov 81

[Excerpts] The Sixth ZSL Supreme Committee Plenum has been resumed in Warsaw.

The plenum has accepted the resignation of Izydor Adamski from the Supreme Committee Secretariat while leaving him in the composition of the Presidium [as heard].

In a secret ballot Adolf Grzywa, Jozef Kojowski and Jozef Koziol were elected members of the Presidium. The latter two have also been entrusted with the post of secretaries of the ZSL Supreme Committee.

The composition of the Supreme Committee Secretariat is up to full strength. The plenum debate is dealing mainly with the major ZSL targets in the country's present political and socioeconomic situation.

Resolution for 1982 Congress

LD181016 Warsaw PAP in English 0822 GMT 18 Nov 81

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Nov (PAP) -- The 6th plenary session of the United Peasant Party [UPP] Central Committee, which came to an end here today, adopted a resolution to hold an extraordinary congress of the party in the second quarter of 1982.

Addressing the plenary session, UPP chairman Roman Malinowski said his recent meetings with PUWP CC First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski, Democratic Party Chairman Edward Kowalczyk, Polish Primate Jozef Glemp and the leaders of other organizations centred round ways out of the present crisis and building a front of national accord. The issue of the UPP's share in a coalition system of authority figures prominently in these talks, he said.

Mr. Malinowski stressed that the building of a material basis for the growth of agricultural production, specially through regearing industry to work for the food sector was fundamental to not only an increased food supply, but also to counteracting the conflicts between town and country.

ZSL OFFICIAL ON USTRZYKI-RZESZOW AGREEMENTS

LD180958 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0630 GMT 18 Nov 81

[From the press review]

[Text] DZIENNIK LUDOWY carries an interview with (Wlodzimierz Ciolek) Supreme Committee Presidium member. He said: Farmers wish for nothing more than to live in peace and to work productively. Our countryside is quite capable of feeding the nation. As a party, a political party of the peasants, (Wlodzimierz Ciolek) stated further, we should not only lend our support to the Ustrzyki-Rzeszow agreements, but should also fight for them and stand guard over their implementation. The struggle for correctly resolving peasants' problems, their right to decide their own fate -- that is, for the right to be the subject, and not the object, [as heard] as was the case in the past -- should constitute the natural, ideological-political foundation of the activities and aspirations of our peasant party. I believe we will attain a secure future for our agricultural farms.

SD OFFICIAL URGES CREATION OF NEW TRIBUNALS

LD181012 Warsaw PAP in English 0812 GMT 18 Nov 81

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Nov (PAP) -- In an interview for KURIER POLSKI, the daily of the Democratic Party (SD), chairman of the Sejm SD Club Jan Fajecki discussed the proposals to introduce the office of president of the Polish People's Republic, the tribunal of state and the constitutional tribunal made by the SD in the Sejm. He said:

"The president with strong power always symbolized unity of the Polish nation and for this reason he was entitled to represent it abroad. We believe that the restoration of the institutions typical of the Polish political traditions consolidates the Polish nation and regains the sense of the state bond. But it is not only emotional causes that are important here. In the present situation when the trend toward individualized responsibility is universal, the personification of authority has many practical aspects. It promotes improvement in the functioning of the state.

"The proposals to set up the tribunal of state and the constitutional tribunal are connected with the idea of consolidating the Sejm as the supreme democratic authority.

"The tribunal of state will play a twofold role: On the one hand, it would be an important instrument of the Sejm to influence the state executive authority and on the other, it would be an important guarantee of the rule of law in the state.

"Opponents of this institution argue that its introduction would elevate a certain group of people by creating a special procedure of penal responsibility for them, being incompatible with the principle of equality before the law. This is a misunderstanding because, in keeping with the concept forwarded by the SD, the tribunal of state would call people holding top posts in the state administration to account for taking or abandoning actions going beyond the legally determined powers. Therefore, the tribunal of state protects society from the abuses of authority.

"The procedure of setting up the tribunal of state, as proposed in the SD programme, clearly indicates that it would be a sort of a body emanated from the Sejm, however being independent in ruling. In fact, it would be an excellent instrument of the Sejm for enforcing the constitutional responsibility on ministers.

"The SD has been proposing to set up the constitutional tribunal for over 20 years now. This proposal reverberated widely and was approved by the society after August 1980 when demands were made to create an entire system of institutions guaranteeing the rule of law in Poland.

"The tribunal will see to the compatibility of laws with the Constitution, will be an important guarantee of observing law and will protect the primacy of the Constitution in the legislation and in the state.

"We believe that, while protecting the social system, the constitution tribunal should concentrate its activity on controlling the compatibility of laws with the Constitution, whereas the control of the compatibility of the less important legal acts with these laws should be left to the main administrative court," Fajecki said.

TRYBUNA LUDU VIEWS INTERNAL 'OPPOSITION'

AU161646 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Nov 81 pp 4, 5

[Mieczyslaw Krajewski article: "Time for Accord, Time for Struggle" -- first installment]

[Excerpts] The time has come for all Poles -- for all those who really love their country -- to make our fatherland once again strong and once again worthy of respect.

The time has also come for a ruthless struggle against the forces that have turned their anticommunist program into a banner and that -- on the basis of this program -- are pushing the country toward catastrophe.

The entire philosophy of action professed by the anticommunist forces -- not only those hailing from KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] and the Confederation for an Independent Poland -- rests on four political theses.

First, the thesis that the socialist system in Poland is of Soviet origin is the basic myth of those forces. According to the Confederation and KOR, socialism has been imposed on Poland, and the Polish communists, socialists, ZSL peasants, progressive democrats -- the entire leftwing that constitutes the Poland of social justice and people's democracy -- are "Moscow's agents."

Second, the anticommunist forces spread illusory visions of the benefits we could gain by politically and economically tying Poland to the West.

Third, almost the entire antisocialist opposition, especially KOR, have spread the myth of the superiority of social democratic solutions over the solutions introduced by the communists and the leftwing allied with them when creating the socialist system.

Fourth, the antisocialist opposition maintains that the contradiction between power and society is the basic contradiction in socialism. According to this concept, power does not represent any class or group, but is in itself a class of bureaucracy and of collective captialism which oppresses the people.

Throughout the history of the Polish People's Republic the forces of socialism have grown not only within the political system of People's Poland and within the echelons of power -- that is, from the top -- but also from below, among workforces and within all social strata and classes. However, the latter have not developed in full coexistence with the leading forces of socialism mainly because of crucial distortions of socialism. The socialist and prosocialist forces within the social base have placed the responsibility for these distortions primarily on the supreme party authority. Hence the clash between these two forces and two methods of building the system -- a clash that is bound to result in a synthesis. That is why the distinctive feature of the process of overcoming the present crisis is the rebirth of the genuine, even spontaneous social movements both among workers and peasants and among other social and professional strata and communities.

Today is the time of synthesis. The two forces of socialism -- those of the social base and those of the leadership -- must now align their actions in constructing and developing the system.

In this connection we should bear in mind that things are not as the antisocialist opposition is trying to convince us; namely, that only the socialist forces at the top have to make themselves credible. It is true that they are weighed down by distortions and by the conflicts -- which are unjustified from the viewpoint of the system -- with the grassroots worker forces of socialism. But the grassroots forces of socialism, which have grown out of the social base, must also become credible.

These forces, including a part of the workers class, let themselves be bewitched by the aforementioned theses professed by the antisocialist opposition at various times (especially during the periods of crucial distortions of socialism).

However, there can be no accord on the basis of those theses. The elemental and spontaneous forces of socialism make themselves credible in the process of overcoming the antisocialist opposition's political program and in the process of eliminating the influences of the forces opposing socialism.

A few words about Soviet influence in Poland. This influence is obvious, but its nature has been two-pronged. One influence has been and is Lenin's ideas and concepts, above all. At the same time, we have had fraternal assistance in the struggle against fascism and support for the burgeoning people's power. That the civil war in Poland was very mild was also due to the Soviet Union.

There has also been the influence resulting from the centralized and bureaucratic solution of the basic contradiction of socialism.

Slightly anticipating the process of reasoning, let us say that socialism's basic contradiction involves the duality of the position of workers as a class. In socialism the workers are a ruling class and a working class. Contrary to Leninism, Stalinism falsely solves that contradiction. Stalinism treated all organized movements of the workers class as a method of organizing the ruling class. All organizations, including the party and trade unions, were subjected to the typically total control of the state and were increasingly identified with the state, which helped to obscure the class nature of the state itself. The socialist state's role as a servant disappeared from the field of vision. Moreover, the workers as a world of labor and a workers class were thus deprived of the necessary organization. This one-sidedness in solving the basic contradiction of socialism in Poland -- it was never solved to the end -- created the opposition of the working people, including the workers, toward their own state. This was an opposition not only within the structures of the system and the law, but also outside of the law, which was the precise reason for the antisocialist forces being able to join the workers' genuine protest.

What would Poland gain by orientating its alliances toward the West?

We gained rather crucial experience in this regard in 1970-80. Hiding behind the slogans of Polish-Soviet friendship, the Gierek-Jaruszewicz team carried out a profound reorientation of our economy toward the highly developed capitalist countries. This concept proved a failure -- above all, socially.

The experience of the past 10 years has proved that -- contrary to what the opponents of socialism assert -- the highly developed capitalist countries will not supply us with a model of a new economic strategy, because the supreme action motive followed by the individual capitalists and by capitalism is one's own advancement and the advancement of one's own class. Other social groups are treated as merely the means to achieve one's own ends.

The program for imitating the highly developed capitalist countries -- this program was recommended by the Social Democrats and implemented by the Gierek team -- did not satisfy anyone: Neither those who wanted to govern in the image of the bourgeois elite, since the rate of their advancement was slower than and behind that of the West; nor the broad sections of the working people, since an accelerated advancement of the elite would have to be achieved at their own expense.

This model was inevitably productive of the intensifying class and social tensions and showed a strong tendency toward turning into a political crisis.

Hence, there was the bankruptcy of the programs proposing to introduce into our conditions capitalist models such as, for example, stimulating the economy through luxury consumption.

Our only chance is to send our production to the Third World countries or the CEMA countries. Our position vis-a-vis the Soviet Union is especially favorable in this regard. That is why -- inter alia -- we can share in the international division of labor only as an important element of CEMA. Poland's ace card was its position as the second economic power after the USSR. We have lost this card by giving way to the GDR.

The other danger posed to our national existence by orientating our alliances toward the West is the danger related to Germany's unification. If we analyze the evolution of Polish-FRG relations we can see that, despite a won war, we are beginning to lose the peace.

For the FRG and the world we have been the conscience that sat in judgment over the processes of militarization and neofascism in the FRG. Today we are a country and a people treated with "forbearing tolerance," if not with contempt. This is because Poland lost the position it had gained as a result of World War II. That is why all concepts seeking to tear Poland away from its allies -- from the USSR -- constitute an obvious ideology of high treason. The Confederation for an Independent Poland, KOR and some functionaries of the Independent Students Association excel in this.

PUBLIC RECOGNIZES NEED FOR PRICE RISES

LD171550 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 17 Nov 81

[Text] Polish Radio's Center for Public Opinion Polls and Programmatic Studies, anticipating the social discussion on the planned price increases for foodstuffs and of fuels, held a preliminary public opinion poll at the beginning of November. Its results confirm the community's growing understanding of the need for price rises. Seventy percent of those who answered the questionnaire already recognize the rises to be necessary, while 59 percent favor the price rises to occur in March. However, views on the variants of compensation differ.

PRODUCTION DIFFICULTIES CAUSE OF SOVIET OIL CUT

NC171515 Paris AFP in English 1502 GMT 17 Nov 81

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Nov (AFP) -- A warning that the flow of oil from the Soviet Union to some of its socialist bloc allies could be cut by production difficulties has come from the Moscow correspondent of the Polish daily ZYCIE WARSZAWY.

The newspaper underlined recent fears in Budapest and Prague that the slow increase in Soviet oil extraction and the Soviet intention to refine more crude oil could lead to big cuts in crude oil exports.

It said Eastern bloc countries had to realise that the Soviet Union would probably become more and more interested in exporting refined rather than crude oil.

Western observers have noticed, however, that while Prague has officially forecast a cut in crude imports from the Soviet Union of up to 12 percent, and Budapest has unofficially forecast a 20 percent cut, Poland has remained discreetly silent.

Foreign exchange problems forced Poland to give up importing oil from the West this year, leaving the Poles entirely dependent on the Soviet Union for substantial imports of crude oil, petroleum products and petrol.

KATOWICE VOIVODA ISSUES APPEAL FOR POTATOES

LD171350 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 17 Nov 81

[Text] Farmers from the Biala Podlaska Voivodship, as well as from the entire region, have received an open letter from the Katowice voivoda appealing for help in deliveries of potatoes for the Katowice Voivodship.

The situation which has emerged in supplying the residents of Katowice Voivodship with potatoes, the letter says, means that many families of miners, metalworkers and other hard working laborers do not have this staple produce for the winter. Hospitals, creches, kindergartens, social care homes and works canteens do not have winter stocks.

Appealing to your patriotism and ordinary human understanding, every quantity of potatoes provided by you will improve this very bad situation. We, for our part, declare our help in supplying your voivodship with the only thing we possess, coal.

It is indeed difficult to imagine a miner's dinner without potatoes, and it is surprising that in a year of a good potato harvest it is necessary to appeal for them. The farmers brought potatoes to the procurement points, but there were problems in selling them. Often, even those ordered by contract were not purchased; people were fussy. Now the potatoes are being stored in mounds. To get them from there in the autumn instead of the spring it is necessary to employ (?convincing) arguments; perhaps the coal argument will get through.

FLOODING REPORTED IN SLUPSK VOIVODSHIP

LD171356 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 17 Nov 81

[Unidentified correspondent's report from Slupsk]

[Text] Three times more rain than average fell in October and November in the Slupsk Voivodship. The Slupia River, whose waters have exceeded the state of flood alert by more than half a meter, has swollen dramatically. Such a level has not been recorded since 1940. Several dozen cellars in buildings on Bierut, Partyzantow, Kosiuszko and Szkolna Streets are flooded. Fields in the Slupsk Voivodship are also flooded and the water has washed away seeds and mineral fertilizers. The voivodship anti-flood committee is reinforcing Slupia River embankments and pumping water from the flooded cellars.

GLEMP, CATHOLIC SOCIAL UNION MEMBERS MEET

LD171436 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 17 Nov 81

[Text] The primate of Poland, Father Archbishop Jozef Glemp, met yesterday evening with representatives of the Polish Catholic Social Union. The meeting was attended by Deputy Premier Jerzy Ozdowski, and the chairman of the union, Sejm Deputy Janusz Zablocki. The subject of the talks was the current situation in Poland, and (?ways) of overcoming the crisis. The problems of lay Catholics [word indistinct] and their participation in the front of national accord which is being created were discussed.

TRYBUNA LUDU: 'NATIONAL AGREEMENT FRONT' NEEDED

LD171512 Warsaw PAP in English 1404 GMT 17 Nov 81

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Nov (PAP) — In a comment on the Central Statistical Office's (GUS) recent communique on the bleak state of Poland's economy, TRYBUNA LUDU wrote that the GUS published figures indicated that "Poland is today not only submerged deeper in crisis than a year ago, but even deeper than several months ago."

"Relatively good harvest results make the only bright point. We have food, yet not in the shops. It does not make its way to the market, to the legal network of state shops at least. The higher procurement prices have not changed much in this sphere. Maybe the things will change a little with the introduction of 'a combined purchase', that is the withdrawal of attractive consumer goods from shops to offer them to those who bring livestock to procurement centres. But this is only a substitute, short-lived solution. Why should one work if for his money earned outside the agricultural sector he cannot buy even that which, despite the slowing down production, is still turned out for the market?

"The road which we still continue to follow is the road to nowhere. And yet it does not have to be so. The riches of our land have not become scarcer. The factories -- which we erected with so much toil and labour in the past 35 years -- have not been swallowed by an cataclysm. We still boast of a big manpower whose professional skills, on the average, surpass those at the disposal of many other countries."

TRYBUNA LUDU went on to say that "Poland has also a widely accepted concrete programme of how to stabilize the economy and come out of the crisis, which has emerged from a wide discussion. What is missing? -- first and foremost: consistency in its implementation.

"The hotbeds of recent unrest are slowly dying down. Maybe, at last, this is the sign that we came to the point that we should have come to a long time ago: That only work, a harmonious effort made by ourselves, criticism and discipline, order and organization are the guarantee of real solutions?

"The call for social peace, the idea of a national agreement front have met with wide reverberation. This idea, however, should be realized not only at 'the top'. It must find its reflection everywhere, in place of our life and work, in every voivodship, village, factory or office," concluded TRYBUNA LUDU.

NATIONWIDE MILITIA OPERATION AGAINST CRIMINALS

LD172006 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 17 Nov 81

[Text] The press spokesman of the Ministry of Internal Affairs reports that a nationwide operation has been carried out whose aim was to penetrate criminal circles, carry out checks on dens of iniquity and to discover persons in hiding. Taking part in the operation were more than 40,000 militiamen, soldiers and social activists. Nearly 500 perpetrators of crimes and more than 1,000 persons in hiding were detained. Many stolen items were recaptured.

POLISH-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY WORK APPROVED

LD171921 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 17 Nov 81

[Text] The Presidium of the Central Board of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society has aquainted itself with the report made by the Friendship Society delegation which has recently met with the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PZPR, Premier and Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski.

The Presidium welcomed the positive assessment voiced by the first secretary of the work by both the Friendship Society and numerous social and political organizations to consolidate Polish-Soviet friendship.

The Presidium expressed warm approval of the efforts being made by the Central Committee and its first secretary, efforts that are designed to form a national front of accord of all patriotic forces based on the constitutional precepts of our country's system and recognition of the leading role of the party and its international alliances in order to overcome the crisis, and defend and strengthen the socialist development of Poland.

RAKOWSKI CHAIRS MEETING OF BOOK COUNCIL

LD180408 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0000 GMT 18 Nov 81

[Text] Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski chaired the meeting of the Book Council. Present were Minister of Culture and Art Jozef Tejchma, representatives of the ministries concerned, publishers, writers, booksellers, librarians and printers. They discussed ways to improve the situation of Polish books which has been deteriorating year in and year out.

U.S. CATHOLIC RELIEF SERVICE DONATES FOOD

LD172146 Warsaw PAP in English 2019 GMT 17 Nov 81

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Nov (PAP) -- An agreement on continuing considerable food assistance for Poland's ill, handicapped and elderly people in 1982 was signed here today as a result of a several-day visit to Poland by representative of the Catholic Relief Service of the U.S. Catholic Conference, Father Terrence J. Mulkerin.

Under the agreement, 40,000 tonnes of foods, including 29,000 tonnes of cereals and 9,000 tonnes of dairy products will be distributed in Poland in consultation with the charitable commission of the Conference of the Polish Episcopate and through church institutions.

The document was signed in the presence of Vice-Premier Jerzy Ozdowski, Health Minister Tadeusz Szelachowski, and representatives of the Polish Episcopate and the U.S. Embassy.

TRADE FIGURES WITH DEVELOPING COUNTRIES REPORTED

LD172144 Warsaw PAP in English 2028 GMT 17 Nov 81

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Nov (PAP) -- For the first time in 4 years Poland has a surplus in her trade with developing countries after the first 10 months of 1981.

The value of Polish exports to developing countries amounted to (?some) [words indistinct] million dollars in the 10 months of the current year and Polish imports from those countries totalled some $928 million. But the $200 million surplus attained in the 10 months of 1981 /against the $330 million deficit in 1980/ [slantlines as received] is due to a drastic drop in imports from the developing countries especially [words indistinct] and not the growth of exports which in fact physically dropped slightly, too.

In 1975, Poland's surplus in trade with developing countries was $159 million, but it dropped to $81 million in 1978 while in 1979 Polish trade with developing countries [words indistinct] a deficit for the first time in years. Last year's deficit was due to increased purchases of oil.

The needs of Polish economy and especially the necessity to resume imports of the Third World oil force Poland to increase imports from the developing countries, but an essential growth of exports will depend on increased supplies of goods which, in the face of the difficulties of the Polish industry, is not an easy matter. On the other hand, exports of building services, the growth of which depends almost solely on organizational changes, promise a good chance.

Quite successful, compared with the difficulties in exports of goods and building service, is the export handled by the Polservice foreign trade enterprise which offers services in the sphere of consulting, theoretical expertise, export of patents and technologies, etc.

STRIKES, DEMONSTRATIONS REPORTED IN MOTRU

NC171354 Paris AFP in English 1347 GMT 17 Nov 81

[Text] Paris, 17 Nov (AFP) -- A series of strikes and demonstrations have swept the Romanian mining town of Motru and surrounding area west of Bucharest, according to a Romanian Human Rights League statement reaching here.

Motru is in the mining valley of Jiu where there were major strikes in 1977.

The league said that on October 16 there was a "peasants revolt" in the village of Matasari. Strikes followed at the three mines of Leurda, Lupoaia and Horasti.

On October 19, the league said, workers at Rogojelu power station went on strike. The same day there were street demonstrations in Motru which led to the occupation of the local communist party headquarters for a time.

The league also claimed that the party secretary in the town of Orsova was stabbed during disturbances in the town early this month.

The league also claimed incidents occurred in other parts of Romania but did not specify which. Nor did the league say whether the troubles were continuing.

CEAUSESCU, SFRY'S KRAIGHER EXCHANGE TOASTS 9 NOV

Ceausescu's Toast

AU092110 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1950 GMT 9 Nov 81

["Toast by President Nicolae Ceausescu at dinner given for President Kraigher" -- AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 9 Nov (AGERPRES) -- I wish to express our satisfaction at your current visit to Romania and to address to you, in behalf of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, of the State Council and government, as well as in my own behalf, a cordial salute and best wishes of welcome to Romania.

Continuing the fine tradition of the Romanian-Yugoslav summit meetings -- in whose creation a decisive role was played by the mutual visits and our relations of warm and close friendship with Josip Broz Tito, the eminent son and leader of Socialist Yugoslavia, a great friend of the Romanian people -- the visit you are making now is an expression of the mutual wish to confer on them further on ever bigger dimensions. We note with satisfaction that, based on the understandings and agreements achieved at the latest summit meetings in Belgrade and Timisoara, on the joint statement of October 1980, the Romanian-Yugoslav relations have kept recording fresh progress. The works of construction of the new hydro-electric power station on the Danube progress successfully. New cooperation ventures have been started and are being unfolded which, as stipulated by the long-term agreement, will ensure the doubling by 1985 of the volume of economic exchanges. Likewise, developing well is the technical-scientific and cultural cooperation, as well as the exchange of experience and the contacts between the political, mass and public organizations. We can say that in all respects the Romanian-Yugoslav relations are an example of collaboration between two neighbouring socialist countries which cooperate multilaterally in a spirit of full equality, mutual esteem and regard. We wish to do everything possible in the future, too, for this collaboration to become ever closer, convinced as we are that it meets the interests of progress of our peoples and at the same time contributes to the cause of peace and collaboration in Europe and the world over.

As socialist and developing countries, Romania and Yugoslavia have many common interests.

They are profoundly interested in actively collaborating for the region we live in, Europe and the world to be reigned by a climate of confidence, collaboration and peace that should give them the possibility to plenarily dedicate their efforts to their economic and social development, in quiet and security.

We are deeply preoccupied with the current international circumstances that are most complex and grave. In various regions of the world there persist situations of tension and conflict. The old imperialist policy of domination and oppression, of consolidation and redivision of the spheres of influence keeps being manifest. The arms race records unprecedented rise, increasing more and more the dangers spelt at the security and independence of all nations, of the peace of the entire mankind.

Under the circumstances, the most ardent imperative is the rallying of the efforts and the ever closer collaboration of the peoples, of the advanced forces for preventing the international situation from worsening, for the resumption and continuation of the policy of detente, understanding and peace, for the settlement of all problems among states only by negotiations. By our opinion, there is no international problem -- no matter how complicated -- not to be able to be solved by political, negotiated means, while observing the sacred right to freedom, independence and peace of every nation.

Starting from these considerations, Romania actively participates in international life, in the efforts for detente, collaboration and peace on the continent and the world over. We develop continuously the relations of friendship, collaboration and solidarity with all socialist countries, and of course, with the neighbouring socialist countries in the first place. We work so as to make the collaboration and solidarity of the socialist countries become an ever more important factor in the struggle for peace, independence and social progress. We also consolidate the collaboration with the developing countries, with the non-aligned states, promote in the spirit of peaceful coexistence the economic, technico scientific, cultural relations with the advanced capitalist countries, with all states of the world, irrespective of social system. We firmly ground our relations with all states on the principles of full equality of rights, observance of national sovereignty and independence, non-immixture in domestic affairs, mutual advantage, renunciation of force and threat with force.

We most firmly work for the accomplishment of European security, for the current meeting in Madrid to reach best possible understandings, to lead to the convening of a conference on confidence and disarmament on the continent, to ensure the continuity of the process of building security and collaboration inaugurated in Helsinki, through the organization of fresh reunions. Romania is ready to host the next reunion, to ensure every condition so that it may contribute to consolidating the collaboration, security and peace on the continent.

We are profoundly worried about the fact that Europe has become a huge arsenal of destructive weapons, that the production and emplacement of new nuclear missiles on the continent is intended. Starting from this reality, we most firmly campaign against the emplacement of new missiles, for the withdrawal and reduction -- on either side -- of the medium-range nuclear missiles, as a first step toward their definitive removal. We also most resolutely declare against the manufacturing of the neutron bomb which is first of all meant for Europe. We consider that it is only in conditions of liquidation of the atomic arsenal in Europe that there will be guarantee for quiet, peace and life of the peoples on the continent, for the security of the whole world. Now, till it is not too late, the peoples of Europe, the peoples of the whole world must say a resolute no to the nuclear armament, and impose concrete, practical disarmament measures.

We welcome the great manifestations staged, in many European states and in other countries of the world, against war, rockets, the neutron bomb, and we are resolved to strengthen the solidarity and to take action together with the other peoples, with the peace-loving forces around the world for ending the arms race, against the nuclear danger.

It is in this spirit that all over the country, in response to the appeal of the National Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, that ample mass actions unfold expressing our people's resolve to make a most active contribution to the struggle for disarmament, and peace, for defending man's fundamental right to life, to a free, dignified existence.

Within the general efforts for security and collaboration in Europe we pay special attention to the developments in the Balkans. We consider that everything must be done for developing the collaboration and confidence in the Balkans, for turning this area into a zone of good neighbourliness and peaceful cooperation, free of atomic weapons and foreign military bases. Romania -- that has issued many concrete proposals in this respect -- considers that every condition exists for the Balkan countries to initiate and develop successfully wide actions on this line.

We are also concerned over the worsening world economic situation, over fact that in the last ten years the gaps between the rich and the poor countries have developed even larger. A fact is that the grave problems of the world economy, the accentuating crisis that has practically stained all the states, are also a direct result of the arms race, of the huge military spending that this year went in excess of 500 billion dollars. It is highly necessary for the growth of the military spending to be halted, for them to be frozen at the level of 1981 and reduced by at least 10 per cent before 1985, the saved funds going to support the developing countries and solve social problems in each country.

Indeed, the present crisis is also a result of inequalities and inequities in the international relations, of the entire economic policy at a world level, inclusive of the very high interest rates policy that is a new form of colonial exploitation that generates fresh difficulties and makes worse the situation of the developing countries. It is high time for firmer action to be taken for liquidating underdevelopment and setting in a new international economic order apt to ensure a more rapid progress of the lagging countries, to create conditions for all the peoples to benefit unhampered by the wonderful gains of modern science and technology.

Life proves that a just, lasting solution of the complex problems confronting mankind cannot be ensured but with an active, equal participation of all the states, irrespective of size or social system. A special role is incumbent on the small and medium-sized countries, on the developing, nonaligned countries that stand for the largest share of mankind and are directly interested in a policy of independence and peace.

We also consider that the role played by the UN, by other international bodies should be intensified in a democratization of the relations in the world arena, in solving the problems of the present world.

The entire course of events proves the growing role of the peoples of the masses, of the world public opinion in the struggle for the peace and progress of mankind. We are convinced that by taking united action the peoples, the democratic and progressive forces everywhere can lead a new course to the international life, can secure the triumph of the policy of detente, collaboration, independence and peace the world over.

Being convinced that the visit you are paying to our country will mark an important moment in the relations between Romania and Yugoslavia, in their active collaboration both on a bilateral plane and in the world arena, I wish to toast:

- For your health, esteemed Comrade Kraigher,

- For the health of all our Yugoslav guests,

- For the Romanian-Yugoslav friendship and collaboration,

- For the progress and prosperity of the Yugoslav peoples,

- For peace, security and collaboration in Europe and the world over.

Kraigher' Toast

LD101122 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2250 GMT 9 Nov 81

[Dinner toast by Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency, at 9 November state banquet in Bucharest attended by President Nicolae Ceausescu]

[Text] Bucharest, 9 Nov (TANJUG) -- Thank you cordially for your warm, friendly words and for the exceptional hospitality with which you have surrounded us from the very moment we set foot in your truly beautiful country.

You have rightly spoken, Comrade President Ceausescu, of the friendship between our two countries and our peoples. Over a series of years President Tito and you built up permanent, solid relations of Yugoslav-Romanian friendship, imbued with mutual respect and trust, and good-neighborly cooperation. We are continuing on this path, as our arrival here and the talks we are conducting confirm.

The close and all-round cooperation between our countries and the great undertakings which we have accomplished or are accomplishing together -- suffice it to mention the Djerdap-I and Djerdap-II systems -- exceed, in their importance the Yugoslav-Romanian frameworks in these areas. This prompts us for our part to develop further political, party, economic and technical, cultural, border area and other cooperation. The national minorities, ours in Romania and yours in Yugoslavia -- to whose position we give due attention -- play a positive role in the overall development of such friendly relations and cooperation.

In a word, we have achieved a lot, and on these bases we can achieve even more.

I should like to draw attention, too, to our successful cooperation on the international level and to our country's identical aspirations toward peace, international security, respect for the independence of all countries and creation of the necessary conditions for mutually beneficial and broadest possible cooperation between countries, regardless of differences or similarities in their sociopolitical structure, international position or degree of development.

We are most concerned, as you are, at the negative development of the general situation in international relations, which is burdened by crises and major unresolved problems: The continuation of the arms race, the bloc competition which encroaches upon the independence of other countries and the ambitions to broaden influence.

The stagnation in detente on our continent and in the Mediterranean, as an integral part of European security, is particularly worrying. We are determined to continue our efforts at the Madrid meeting of the conference on European security and cooperation, in the closest possible cooperation with other countries, so that a way may be opened for a European conference on disarmament and broader confidence measures.

I would like here to underline the attention and importance which we attribute to the development of good-neighborly relations in the Balkans. This is one of the vital orientations of our policy. President Tito devoted great attention to this, too, and we continue this now. Balkan cooperation, both bilateral and multilateral, is of immediate significance for the security and progress of all countries of the region, at the same time also contributing to broader positive processes in Europe. We desire this cooperation to be as fruitful as possible. It is our conviction that this presupposed specific and consistent application of the Helsinki principles on the part of all participants, and at the same time respect for their interests and standpoints. We adopted these Helsinki principles jointly as being generally valid for all parts of Europe and thereby also for our intra-Balkan relations. On these democratic foundations we can achieve a great deal in building up trust, rapprochement and increasingly close cooperation among the Balkan peoples.

Yugoslav-Romanian relations, as part of the cooperation in the Balkans, provide a convincing example in this respect.

In this connection, I would like to stress the exceptional significance of good-neighborliness, based on the principles mentioned, in our broader desire for the Balkans as a zone of peace.

Yugoslavia has always believed that the creation of zones of peace and the broadest possible nuclear-free regions not subject to threats of the use of nuclear weapons, as well as the consolidation and spreading of confidence-building measures in various parts of the world, should play a great role in strengthening international security. When we speak of security in the Balkans it should be stressed that this is closely linked with the security of the Mediterranean and Europe as a whole.

We advocate general disarmament, nuclear and otherwise. A broad zone of peace in our areas, which we advocate and which we see as a concrete process, also implies full and equally mutual respect for the principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity, noninterference and peaceful coexistence. Consistent international respect for such a status of zones of peace and criteria of international behavior, which also demands that dangers from conflicts in their vicinity be eliminated, would contribute to the promotion of universal detente while the peoples would be ensured peace and security.

What is of fundamental significance for security and the process of detente not only in Europe but also further afield is to refrain from covering our continent with new missiles whose deployment has been announced or already begun as part of the rivalry between the two blocs. We expect that the two great powers at their forthcoming negotiations will make every possible effort to stop the arms race and start removing the nuclear capabilities from European soil. This also calls for a relevent contribution by other countries. Every real result in this respect would, undoubtedly, meet with the broadest acknowledgment in the world.

When I speak of security in this part of the world, I wish to point to the crises in the Near and Middle East which, by their consequences, affect not only the countries directly involved but also many others, as well as international relations as a whole. It is high time to embark on a real, just and comprehensive and thus also lasting solution of the Middle East crises by peaceful means, along with the necessary recognition of the legitimate rights of the people of Palestine, represented by the PLO, to their own state. I must particularly stress that a halt in the continued aggressive Israeli actions represents a fundamental precondition for any solution. All this represents a way which would ensure for all states of that region a peaceful and secure life. It is clear that to find a generally acceptable solution to this acute problem calls for broader commitment, in which every endeavor truly aimed at the goals mentioned above deserves understanding and support.

The broader interests of peace and security also demand that Iraq and Iran, with which we maintain friendly relations, cease hostilities without any further delay and start resolving their disputes by peaceful means. We are deeply convinced that this meets the fundamental interests of those two countries. Moreover, every continuation of the war brings with it consequences which will be increasingly difficult to eliminate.

Knowing with how much attention your country, as well as ours, follows the process of decolonization in southern Africa, I would like to stress our conviction that Namibia's independence represents not merely the inviolable right of the Namibian people but also the precondition for the consolidation of independence and nonalignment of the countries of that sensitive region, without any foreign presence.

In this respect nonaligned Zimbabwe provides a convincing example; nonaligned and other countries, including also our two, were actively involved in the process of Zimbabwe's acquiring of independence.

We believe in principle that crises which seriously weigh down international relations in various parts of the world should be resolved exclusively by peaceful means, on the basis of nonintervention, noninterference, respect for independence of countries and for the right of people to decide freely in peace and security on the forms of their internal development.

We attribute particular importance to efforts directed toward building up a new international economic order. I see an encouraging sign in the fact that the recent Cancun meeting confirmed the interdependence of problems and created a certain atmosphere from which, we hope, an agreement on starting global negotiations within the framework of the United Nations should proceed. The global character of economic problems demands that all countries, both developed and developing, should take part in resolving them. Recalling the successful cooperation between our two countries in the Group of 77, I would like to point out the need for this cooperation, together with other developing countries and all other countries, to become even more fruitful, in order that we may make a specific contribution through joint efforts to resolving the exceptionally important problem of international economic relations, which has a profound effect, too, on broader political relations in the world.

I am pleased to be able to recall here our cooperation and Romania's part in the activities of the Nonaligned Movement, directed toward strengthening general detente and peace.

Yugoslavia, as a nonaligned and socialist country, is open to the broadest possible cooperation with all other countries, considering that it is precisely this which helps it make the best contribution toward both realizing its own national interests and developing better political and economic relations in the world. In these efforts of ours Yugoslav-Romanian cooperation has an important place. I am all the more convinced that these talks of ours, like many previous ones, will mark a way toward a further upsurge in our cooperation, especially economic cooperation, with increasingly rich content, on realistically long-term foundations, and will thereby promote the further rapprochement of our peoples.

In expressing gratitude once again for your warm hospitality, I raise this glass to the health of esteemed Comrade President Ceausescu, our Romanian comrades, the prosperity of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the further consolidation of the friendship and all-round good-neighborly cooperation between our two countries, peace, security and broad cooperation and thereby progress and socialism in the world.

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON PSI'S CRAXI 10-12 NOV VISIT

11 Nov Luncheon

AU111930 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1843 GMT 11 Nov 81

[Text] Bucharest, 11 Nov (AGERPRES) -- After the talks conducted on November 11, Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, invited the secretary general of the Italian Socialist Party, Bettino Craxi to luncheon.

Participating were Iosif Banc, Cornel Burtica, Virgil Cazacu, Nicolae Constantin, Ludovic Fazekas, Dumitru Popescu, Stefan Andrei.

Also taking part in the luncheon were Margherita Boniver-Pini and Ugo Initini.

During the luncheon, which passed in an atmosphere of warm friendship, Nicolae Ceausescu and Bettino Craxi proposed toasts.

Ceausescu's Toast

AU161737 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 11 Nov 81 p 1

[Toast by Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu at 11 November Bucharest luncheon for Italian Socialist Party leader Bettino Craxi]

[Text] I would like to express satisfaction at the good relations between the RCP and the Italian Socialist Party, and to again extend warm greetings to Comrade Craxi and the other Italian comrades.

I express my conviction that this visit, the talks we conducted will contribute to the strengthening of the collaboration between the two parties, to the strengthening of the relations between Romania and Italy, to the triumph of the policy of detente, national independence and peace.

There are many complex questions in the international life. We must do everything possible in order to halt the emplacement of new missiles in Europe and to remove the existing ones, to stop the manufacture of the neutron warhead, to pass to disarmament, to building new relations. We start from the necessity that the European people should strengthen their collaboration, viewing them as a whole, not divided in military blocs or economic bodies. Europe must preserve its unity under the circumstances of the diversity of social systems, on the basis of the observance of each nations independence and sovereignty. As a matter of fact, we view the organization of the relations among states in the whole world, in the spirit of equality and non-interference in internal affairs.

We hope that the two parties and countries will closely cooperate for the settlement of major international issues, in the interest of both peoples, of peace in the whole world.

I toast the ever better cooperation between our parties and between Romania and Italy!

I wish you success in your activity!

To your health!

To peace and a policy of national independence!

Craxi Toasts Ceausescu

AU111952 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1900 GMT 11 Nov 81

[Report on toast by Italian Socialist Party Secretary General Bettino Craxi at the 11 November Bucharest luncheon given in his honor by Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu]

[Text] Bucharest, 11 Nov (AGERPRES) -- Expressing thanks for "the very friendly reception" and for the "important talk" he had with President Ceausescu, Bettino Craxi said:

We have noted that on the matters of vital importance we have a perfect coincidence of views. There is mutual worry, there is also mutual commitment and the determination to contribute as far as possible to the creation of a better international climate, in conditions of equilibrium apt to secure a long period of peace, since this is what we need, this is what all men of reason should think of.

Appreciating that President Nicolae Ceausescu, the party and Government of Romania constantly expresses positions that are the fruit of a balanced and wise vision about the present events, Bettino Craxi considered that "We however must convince those that are stronger than us to take the path of wisdom". Then, Bettino Craxi said:

"We have had a large exchange of views on the problems you have just mentioned. I say it once more, there is full concordance between us. We do not want missiles and neutron bombs. We shall act so that good results be reached and the negotiations due to begin late this month be conducted in this sense.

"I can only confirm our traditional feelings of friendship for you. You and everyone present here know that we and Italy are your friends. And so we will be henceforth, too."

PRIME MINISTER MUGABE'S STATE VISIT CONTINUES

Ceausescu Toasts Mugabe 13 Nov

AU161733 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 14 Nov 81 pp 1, 3

[Toast by President Nicolae Ceausescu at 13 November Bucharest dinner for Zimbabwe Prime Minister Robert Mugabe and his wife Sally Mugabe]

[Text] Bucharest, 13 Nov -- Comrade Robert Mugabe, Comrade Sally Mugabe, dear guests from the Republic of Zimbabwe, comrades and friends, I am particularly pleased to greet you cordially as guests of Socialist Romania and to extend to you a warm welcome to our country. We are glad to greet through you the friendly Zimbabwean people which has set out today on the path of its free and independent assertion.

The visit which you are paying to Romania is an illustration of the good relations of friendship and solidarity established between our two parties and peoples during the long years of national liberation struggle waged by the Zimbabwean people, an expression of our common desire to act, in today's new conditions, for the ever wider development of these relations.

The Romanian people, which has actively supported the national liberation struggle of Zimbabwean people , watches with interest the progress made by the young Republic of Zimbabwe in the consolidation of its national independence and the development of its economy, in building a new, free and dignified life. We sincerley rejoice in these achievements and heartily wish the friendly Zimbabwean people new and great successes in this direction.

All conditions are met for Romania and Zimbabwe to promote -- despite the great geographical distance existing between them -- a wide collaboration and cooperation, especially in such areas of great significance for the economy of the two countries as: machine-building, geology, mining, agriculture, transports as well as personnel training. We would like to find during this visit and in the talks we are going to have these coming days new ways and means to stimulate the collaboration and cooperation between Romania and Zimbabwe. We believe that the development of these relations on the solid foundations of the principles of full equality, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs and mutual advantage corresponds fully to the interests of both peoples to advance as fast as possible on the path of progress and serves the general cause of collaboration, understanding and peace in the world.

We are glad that the visit you are paying to Romania gives you an opportunity to get to know directly some of the preoccupations and achievements of our people in the building of the multilaterally developed socialist society. By acting in close unity and rallied behind its leading political force -- the Romanian Communist Party -- our people is undertaking an ample endeavour for the implementation of the decisions adopted by the twelfth party congress, which have set, as the fundamental strategic objective, the entering of Romania into a new and higher stage, namely, its transition from the stage of socialist developing country to that of socialist medium-developed country. We act for the continuous development and modernization of the new society's technical and material basis, for the growth of the national wealth and for the raising of the whole people's living standards.

The achievements we have scored in all fields show what a people can actually accomplish when it works in freedom and is master of its destiny and is determined to build its future in keeping with its own will and aspirations.

Doing its utmost for the building of its new system, Romania takes at the same time firm action for detente and wide collaboration between nations, setting out from the consideration that it is only in an atmosphere of peace and cooperation that our people, indeed all the peoples of the world, can ensure their economic and social development, their independence and sovereignty.

We must however say that we are deeply concerned over the present international situation, which is particularly complex. The world scene is beset with serious tensions as a result of the old imperialist policies of domination and oppression, of the perpetuation of existing conflicts and tensions, of the unprecedented acceleration of the arms race -- all of which seriously jeopardize the freedom and independence of peoples and the peace of the whole world. Faced as we are with this situation, it is necessary more than ever before to get the peoples to work more closely together, to strengthen the unity and solidarity of all progressive and anti-imperialist forces, with a view to stopping the aggravation of the international situation, and to resuming and developing the policy of detente, peace and collaboration. It is in this spirit that Romania acts firmly towards the strengthening of collaboration with all peoples and forces militating for peace, collaboration and national independence.

We attach great importance to the collaboration with all socialist countries, in particular with our neighbours, and work for the strengthening of their solidarity and collaboration in the struggle for detente and peace in the world. We equally strengthen cooperation with the nonaligned countries, bearing in mind that this is an imperative of the anti-imperialist fight, for the liquidation of the policy of inequality and oppression, for the free assertion of every people. In the spirit of peaceful coexistence, we extend our economic, technical, scientific and cultural relationships with the developed capitalist countries as well, with all states, irrespective of social system.

As a European country, Romania actively militates for security, collaboration and peace in Europe. We work so that the Madrid meeting may be concluded with positive results and stimulate the unitary implementation of the Helsinki documents. We would like to reach understandings conducive to the convening of a conference on confidence-building and disarmament on the continent as well as to the ensurance of the continuity of the collaboration and security process, by the convening of new meetings to this end.

We are deeply worried about the soaring spiral of the arms race, the stockpiling in Europe of a huge arsenal of weapons, including nuclear weapons and the intention to deploy new destructive weaponry on the continent -- all of which increases still more the danger of a war that can annihilate in just a few seconds the entire civilization. That is why we believe that the fundamental problem of our times is the cessation of the arms race, the adoption of effective measures in the field of general disarmament, and first of all, nuclear disarmament. Voicing the will of our whole people which is carrying out these days great mass activities in favour of peace and disarmament, Romania firmly declares herself against the deployment of new mass destruction weapons on the continent, for the withdrawal and reduction -- by one side as well as by the other -- of the medium-range missiles, as a first step towards their full removal and liquidation. We are firmly opposed and say a resolute "no" to the production of the neutron bomb.

Everything must be done to put a stop to the increase of military expenditures that reached this year the huge amount of 500 billion dollars -- and to use the funds thus released for assisting the poor countries, for settling some of the social problems of every country.

We consider that one of the issues that must be urgently salved is the elimination of underdevelopment, of the big gaps between the rich and poor countries, which generate grave anomalies in the world economic life, increased the tension and amplify the economic crisis.

It is necessary to act more firmly for the establishment of a new international economic order, based on full equality and equity, that should favour the faster progress of all peoples particularly of the ones lagging behind.

Romania actively supports the peoples' struggle for the total liquidation of colonial domination, for national liberation and the consolidation of national independence and sovereignty.

We manifest our whole solidarity with the Namibian people, which under the leadership of its legitimate representative, SWAPO [South West African People's Organization], is fighting against the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa, for its right to develop in freedom, independence and sovereignty.

We firmly condemn the apartheid and racial discrimination policy of the Pretoria minority regime, the armed attacks against Angola, the hostile acts against the Republic of Zimbabwe and other dependent states of the area and we demand strongly that an end should be put to any aggressive actions of South Africa that aim at endangering peace and security on the African Continent.

We consider that the peoples of Africa must continuously strengthen the solidarity and unity in the struggle for the total and final liquidation of colonialism, of any form of domination and imperialist oppression, for the defense and consolidation of national independence and their advancement on the path of social and economic progress of their free and self-reliant development. We value highly the important role played, in this respect, by the Organization of African Unity which can bring a significant support to the strengthening of the solidarity and co-operation of African countries, to the stepping up of their constructive contribution to the international life, to the assertion of the policy of national independence, peace and progress in the whole world.

There are many issues in the international life that have to be settled in a new democratic way. We consider that in their settlement all states, irrespective of size and social order, should participate on the basis of full equality. An ever more important role is incumbent on the small and medium-sized countries, on the developing and non-aligned countries, which represent the great majority of the world and are directly interested in a policy of independence and peace. It is also necessary that the role of the UN and other international bodies, should increase in the settlement of issues for the benefit of peace, cooperation and peoples' independence.

Life, nowaday's realities point out ever more strongly to the greater role of the peoples in the determination of the course of events, in the settlement of the big issues concerning peace and the mankind's progress.

It is our conviction that the peoples of the world, the advanced forces everywhere, by continuously strengthening their solidarity and by uniting ever more closely their forces, can bring to a halt the policy of tension and war, can impose peace and detente, the policy of independence, security and peaceful cooperation among nations.

Confident that the visit that you are making will represent an important moment in the development of relations between Romania and Zimbabwe, both on the bilateral plane on the international one, I wish to toast:

-- To friendship and cooperation between our countries and peoples.

-- To the prosperity and happiness of the Zimbabwean friendly people, whom I wish ever greater successes in the consolidation of its independence and sovereignty.

-- To the good health of Comrade Robert Mugabe and of Comrade Sally Mugabe.

-- To the good health of our guests from the Republic of Zimbabwe.

-- To peace and cooperation in the whole world.

-- To the health of you all.

Mugabe Toasts Ceausescu

AU141455 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0930 GMT 14 Nov 81

[Toast by Zimbabwe Prime Minister Robert Mugabe at 13 November Bucharest dinner given in his honor by Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu]

[Text] Bucharest, 14 Nov (AGERPRES) -- Comrade President, comrade ministers, distinguished guests, comrades and friends. Comrade President, I thank you for the kind words you have addressed to me, and through me to the people of Zimbabwe and before I say what I want to say tonight, please permit me to refer to the abundant kindness and hospitality we have received since our arrival in Bucharest from yourself and your people. As can be seen at this moment, this hospitality has spread itself sumptuously over this table. On my own behalf, on behalf of my wife and entire delegation, I wish to thank you most profoundly for all that has been done to make us feel comfortable and at home.

Our togetherness at this table serves as an apt symbol of the relations between our two nations. There is a sentiment in which I am not, strictly speaking, a guest at your table, Comrade President. Our two peoples have always eaten together during the troubled days of our liberation struggle, as we stood together against a common enemy. The story of the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe is not a remote story to the Romanian people carried to them by the newspapers and radio, for they were actors in the story as it evolved and unfolded. They were participants in the making of our revolutionary history.

The people of Zimbabwe shall always remember the support rendered by the Socialist Republic of Romania, which was given on all conceivable fronts of the struggle. There was the material support, comprising the vital supplies provided to the cadres engaged in the arduous bush war, and there was the instituting diplomatic and political support in international fora, at which Romania stood with other progressive nations in a strong call for a just solution to the situation of colonial oppression, exploitation, illegality and racism that prevailed in my country then. The people of Zimbabwe shall always be grateful for this close alliance and solidarity.

Comrade President, distinguished comrades, it is with a sense of great satisfaction that we look back on the cooperation of the Zimbabwean and the Romanian peoples in the fight for self-determination and our right to sovereign independence. The success of that struggle is known to all. In just another six months we shall be celebrating the second anniversary of the independence of the Republic of Zimbabwe. On that occasion, we shall remember an important recent past, one of which valuable social and moral values emerged to provide a foundation for the development of our new society.

Comrade President, since the visit of the president of the Republic of Zimbabwe to Romania last year, significant progress has been made in the priority areas of reconstruction, rehabilitation and resettlement.

A number of displaced communities have been resettled, and programmes are under way to satisfy the legitimate claims of our people. We have succeeded in rebuilding some schools and health facilities damaged or destroyed during the war. In the area of education, we have made certain that no child of school age is deprived of the opportunity to be educated because of a lack of facilities. Where possible, arrangements have been made for existing schools to conduct extra classes in the afternoons and evenings to accommodate larger than normal enrollments.

Comrade President, it will be clear that the programmes to which my government has committed itself are indeed ambitious, but necessary. We have made some progress, but the work is far from complete. There is still the need for basic infrasturcture, particularly in the rural areas, which the policies of previous regimes tended to neglect in favour of urban settlements: Our task now is to bring comparable amenities, such as reticulated water supplies, electricity and post and telecommunication services to the bulk of our population, who live in the communal lands.

To realise this objective, we shall need the assistance of all our friends. It is gratifying to note that detailed consultations have already started between Zimbabwean and Romanian experts, and we do not doubt that whatever contribution Romania is able to make to our effort will be worthwhile and no doubt will be an expression of the solidarity that has always existed between our two states.

Already, we have proved the consistency and sincerity of the Socialist Republic of Romania. Assistance has been given in various specific projects.

A number of Zimbabweans have received or are receiving training in Romania under technical co-operation schemes. I single out for mention the 60 agricultural personnel who recently completed a study programme in Romania and are now back in Zimbabwe to apply the new knowledge they acquired there.

I could also mention the cooperation envisaged in the mining and energy sectors.

The agreement on long-term economic, industrial and technical cooperation, signed in September last year, provides an excellent framework for increased cooperation both in the present and in the future. It is therefore with great satisfaction that I welcome the establishment of a top-level joint commission to explore specific areas and to implement the agreement.

Comrade President, I am sure you will be pleased to learn of the progress we have made in the task of integrating our armed forces. That task, I am glad to say, is now complete. We regard this achievement as an important step in the process of the consolidation of our independence.

It provides us with a solid foundation on which to build our future, apart from having at our command a force we can depend upon to defend government, the people and the country, against any act of aggression, invasion or internal revolt.

Finally, Comrade President, I would like to note the identity of the positions of our two states on a great many issues of international importance. Zimbabwe, like Romania, believes in the basic principles of the equality of states, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states and the right of all peoples to self-determination and national independence. On the specific issue of South Africa, we condemn in the strongest terms the policy of apartheid, deplore and condemn the current invasion by South Africa of Angola as a flagrant violation of the territory of a sovereign state, just as we deplore and condemn her acts of sabotage and aggression against other neighbouring states, including Zimbabwe. Again, we share the same view on the question of Namibia, of whose people SWAPO [South West African People's Oganization] is the legitimate and sole representative. We believe that any solution to the Namibian problem should follow strictly the lines of resolution 435 of the United Nations. And as long as the efforts of the Western contact group are genuinely aimed at the implementation of this resolution without modification, Zimbabwe will not oppose but encourage them.

Both Zimbabwe and Romania join the demand of the developing world in its call for a more just and equitable economic order. We disagree completely with those who suggest that the present order does not require fundamental change for we believe that fundamental changes must be made in the character and operation of the economic institutions that govern international trade and finance today. We must strive to reverse the prevalent trend in which the raw materials of the developing world continue to make the rich countries richer, while artificial barriers frustrate any significant growth in the export earnings of the developing world which needs substantial volumes of inputs of capital and technology from developed countries.

Comrade President, distinguished comrades, in conclusion, I would like, once again, to pay tribute to the great people of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and to congratulate you on your tremendous achievements in the construction of a socialist society. The people of Zimbabwe deeply admire these achievements and hold in the highest esteem the capable leadership of the Socialist Republic of Romania, which you, Comrade President, lead with such ability and wisdom.

I wish you and the Romanian Communist Party continued success as you look into the future and chart the course of your heroic nation. I assure you of Zimbabwe's commitment to greater cooperation between our two countries, more so that Zimbabwe wishes to derive maximum benefit from your experience in the social transformation of your socioeconomic system. I will now ask you all to join me in a toast:

-- To the great courage and determination of the Romanian people, for which the world has such deep respect;

-- To the inspiring wisdom and leadership of the Romanian Communist Party;

-- To the enduring friendship and solidarity between the heroic peoples of Zimbabwe and Romania;

-- To the continued good health of our distinguished leader and friend, Comrade President Nicolae Ceausescu and Madam Ceausescu.

Talks Conclude 16 Nov

AU162115 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2020 GMT 16 Nov 81

[Text] Bucharest, 16 Nov (AGERPRES) -- The official talks between Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Robert Mugabe, president of the Zimbabwe African National Union - Patriotic Front [ZANU-PF], prime minister of the Republic of Zimbabwe, concluded on November 16.

The talks were attended:

For Romania by: Ilie Verdet, prime minister, Nicolae Constantin, deputy prime minister, Stefan Andrei, minister of foreign affairs, Maxim Berghianu, minister of labour, Dumitru Bejan, minister secretary of state, the ministry of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, Silviu Curticeanu, secretary to the president and to the State Council, Iulian Bituleanu, deputy minister of finance, Adrian Rogojeanu, deputy minister of agriculture and food industry, Lieutenant-General Victor Stanculescu, deputy minister of national defence, Petre Blajovici, ambassador of Romania to the Republic of Zimbabwe, Petre Tanasie, director, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

For the Republic of Zimbabwe: Witness Mangwende, minister of foreign affairs, Enos Nkala, minister of finance, Frederick Shava, minister of manpower, planning and development, Moses Mvenge, deputy minister of commerce, Swithum Mombershora, deputy minister of agriculture, E. Mengaza, undersecretary, the Ministry of Manpower, Planning and Development, E.N. Mushagara, undersecretary, the Ministry of Finance, Brigadier General Agnew Kambwe, the Ministry of National Defence, Alois M. Chidoda, undersecretary, the cabinet of the prime minister, C. Tazvishaya, private secretary to the prime minister.

On the occasion, Robert Mugabe expressed his deep gratitude for the hospitality extended to him and to the members of his delegation during his sojourn in sister Romania. At the same time, he highlighted that, during his visit, he had the opportunity to get a comprehensive image of the achievements friendly Romania has scored in building the new socialist society, showing that he was deeply impressed by the way in which the natural and human resources of the country are capitalized to the end of steadily raising the entire people's welfare.

At the end of the talks, Nicolae Ceausescu and Robert Mugabe expressed satisfaction at the productive character of the dialogue they have conducted these days in Bucharest which goes down-- through its results -- as moment of special importance in the development of the relations between the two countries, in the consolidation of the solidarity between the RCP and the ZANU-PF, of the friendship between the Romanian and the Zimbabwean peoples.

The two sides' determination was emphasized to work for the translations into fact, in good conditions, of the understandings covenanted, their conviction being expressed that, on their bases, the cooperation between the Romanian Communist Party and the Zimbabwe African National Union - Patriotic Front will be amplified, the relations between Romania and Zimbabwe would expand and deepen on a political, economic, technical-scientific, cultural plane and in other spheres of activity.

Likewise, they expressed their confidence that in the spirit of those discussed, the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Republic of Zimbabwe would ever closer cooperate in international life, making, by joint efforts, an active contribution to the establishment of a climate of detente, security, confidence and collaboration in Europe, Africa and on the other continents, to the building of a more just and better world meant to ensure each nation's peace, independence and free development.

Nicolae Ceausescu and Robert Mugabe appreciated that the concerned promotion of the multilateral cooperation between the two parties and countries meets the two peoples' interests and aspirations after progress, serves the general cause of collaboration, understanding and peace throughout the world.

Nicolae Ceausescu wished Robert Mugabe, the Zimbabwe African National Union - Patriotic Front, the government, the entire Zimbabwean people ever greater successes in the country's advancement on the road of economic progress, in its democratic, socialist development.

The talks passed in an atmosphere of warm firendship, mutual understanding and esteem, characteristic of the relations between the two parties, countries and peoples.

Ceausescu Gives Dinner 16 Nov

AU162110 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2000 GMT 16 Nov 81

[Text] Bucharest, 16 Nov (AGERPRES) -- Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, met again on November 16 with Robert Mugabe, leader of the Zimbabwe African National Union - Patriotic Front, prime minister of the Republic of Zimbabwe.

Present were Ilie Verdet, Nicolae Constantin, Stefan Andrei, Maxim Berghianu, minister of labour.

Participating were also Witness Mangwende, Enos Nkala, Frederick Shava.

The dinner passed in the same atmosphere of friendship which characterized the interviews and talks between Nicolae Ceausescu and Robert Mugabe, the relations between the two parties, countries and peoples.

Mugabe Departs 17 Nov

AU170855 [Editorial Report] Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian at 0838 GMT on 17 November begins a live relay from Bucharest Otopeni Airport on the departure from Romania of Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe. According to the announcer, President Nicolae Ceausescu, Ilie Verdet, Gheroghe Radulescu, Nicolae Constantin and Stefan Andrei have come to the airport to see off the Zimbabwean guest. A guard of honor presents arms. The national anthems of the two countries are played. President Nicolae Ceausescu and Prime Minister Robert Mugabe are reportedly reviewing the march past of the honor guard.

The announcer says that the two leaders take "warm" leave of each other.

REPORTAGE ON 22D SESSION OF LCY CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Culafic Report

LD171430 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0701 GMT 17 Nov 81

["Culafic report at the 22d Session of the LCY Central Committee" -- TANJUG headline; monitored TANJUG transmissions did not carry initial portion of this item; transmission of this item begins with take 12 of a total of 25 TANJUG takes]

[Text] The possibility of bilingual re-education in nationally mixed environments is made possible by the constitution. There are broad possibilities whereby education in the Albanian language can be carried out in forms of education, schooling and training separate from that for children and young people of other nations and nationalities, ranging from kindergartens to university education. If we wish young people in Kosovo to be employed elsewhere in Yugoslavia and to be capable of working in all parts of Yugoslavia, language equality, that is to say education in more than one language, must not degenerate into the opposite. It is indispensable, as has recently been particularly stressed in Kosovo, that all should learn and become acquainted with both the Albanian and the Serbo-Croatian language. Any other approach would be an obstacle to togetherness in Kosovo and in other areas of Yugoslavia. Thus there is the possibility to create the broadest conditions for many jointly organized manifestations and forms of work, life and entertainment together. This is in keeping with the need to further develop togetherness, ease of communications in a single state, and, in general, with the requirements of links and cooperation. The Albanian nationality in Kosovo, where it is in a majority, can gain a great deal by opening itself in many ways to the wider areas of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and of the SFRY without losing any of its characteristics and of its affirmation, just as other nations and nationalities in the SFRY can only gain by their being open toward the Albanian nationality.

A mixed population has been living together in Kosovo for centuries, sharing the good and the bad, fulfilling togetherness and concord in accordance with their interests, and dividing and coming into conflict among themselves, usually at the instigation of the enemy, interests of foreign powers and foreign invaders, as well as on a class basis.

One of the questions which cannot be circumvented and which has specific political weight is the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, which gives rise to a broader interest in our country, especially the Serb and Montenegrin nations. A rapid growth of emigration was noticed as far back as 1968, and has continued since this year's counterrevolutionary events, when it became clear that the dimensions of this problem are not small and that the problem did not arise only yesterday. Of course, not every case of emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo took place under pressure; there was emigration because of material and other interests, and because of the well-known population movement process in our country. The formation of commissions concerned with this issue was indispensable, but it cannot replace the ideopolitical action of the League of Communists and of the Socialist Alliance to shed light totally on these manifestations, to take all measures, both urgent and long-term, and to create an atmosphere whereby everyone in Kosovo feels equal, safe and free as if he was in his own house. Without this there is no brotherhood, unity and togetherness, either in Kosovo or further afield in Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia and Yugoslavia where the Albanians mix and live with other nations. Intranational trust must be renewed everywhere, and all those who violate it must be exposed to the condemnation of society and of public opinion. Counterrevolutionary events themselves made the general social climate worse, introducing tension and a feeling of insecurity and disquiet among (?the people).

In this context, to stop the emigration of expert cadres of Serb and Montenegrin nationalities who are indispensable to the Kosovo economy is not what is required although it is very important. What is quite unacceptable is the whittling down of their horizons.

What is at stake is the right of the members of the Serbian and Montenegrin people to live in full freedom and security in Kosovo together with Albanians, Turks, Muslims and Romanies. What is involved is the elementary constitutional right which is valid for all citizens of our country in whatever part of Yugoslavia. Thus, conditions have to be created which would make it possible for those who wish to remain in Kosovo to do so, and for those who have emigrated under pressure to return if they wish. What is most important is to completely eradicate all forms of nationalistic euphoria [euforija] by which the security of the existence of the working man and citizen of any nationality in Kosovo or any other part of the country, in line with the rights and freedoms laid down by its constitution, is threatened. As long as there are pressures, counterrevolution is at work, implementing one of its planned goals -- an ethnically pure Kosovo.

Every concrete action and every success in the revival of trust, security and tranquility will have an encouraging effect, and such successes should, therefore, be placed in the forefront of our struggle.

The position of the League of Communists is that a decisive struggle should be waged against any incitement of an anti-Albanian mood which is initiated by nationalists from our other nations and nationalities. We are also resolute in the struggle against any activities sowing mistrust in the ability and orientation of a large part of the working class and communists in Kosovo to wage a decisive struggle in support of the LCY platform.

Demographic problems are topical and significant for the entire country as they also currently are in the world. Thus, from this point of view too certain trends and tendencies in Kosovo should be further analyzed. A real development policy cannot be pursued -- either in Kosovo or in Yugoslavia -- if one avoids confrontation with these complex problems. We should not deal with these problems merely from time to time or merely in crisis situation; they represent a lasting and serious task for all social forces. If this is not done, somebody else will deal with them.

Numerous issues of the socio-economic development of Kosovo are also very topical. Despite all the weaknesses of the economic policy and the general development policy pursued in Kosovo in the past, the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo has achieved significant socio-economic, material, cultural and comprehensive social progress, behind which there are the efforts and results of the working people of Kosovo and the solidarity of the working people throughout our country. Apart from a series of objective and very major difficulties inherent in every kind of underdevelopment, including the underdevelopment of Kosovo, one should not ignore the numerous subjective weaknesses and shortcomings which have slowed down and are slowing down the dynamics of the development and which exacerbate development problems. The problems of the development concept, of the economic structure and of the direction of the material development have been exacerbated by the weakening of the qualitative factors of economic activity, by relatively low labor productivity, by poor work discipline, by the underdevelopment of self-managing relations and all this together has discouraged the pooling of labor, resources and investments from the more developed areas of our country. The new method of investments from the federal fund will also contribute to a change in the economic structure and the dynamization of the economic trends.

Numerous figures on the post-war development of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and on the character and causes of the economic problems in Kosovo, on the development of socialist self-management, and on the perspectives of reducing the differences in the degree of economic development are contained in the political platform.

In addition, they also represent the focal issues of the medium-term development plan of Kosovo for 1981-1985. And yet, it should be stressed in particular that the serious reserves for the improvement of the economic circumstances lie in the fact that the social sector of the Kosovo economy, in view of its high technical equipment can realize, along with average Yugoslav labor productivity, a social product which is 1/3 higher than it is presently. The most rational investments are those in industry which will employ a larger number of people and in agriculture which is fairly neglected; but immense efforts are also necessary by all the working people and it is also necessary to work harder and better. More disciplined and more responsible behavior, also being organizers of production and organs of power and the working people too is necessary.

There are many reasons for the LCY Central Committee involving itself: First, for the urgent adoption of agreements by socialist republics and provinces on the speediest development of Kosovo, which stems from the obligations of Yugoslavia's social plan.

Second, that the republics and provinces carry out as soon as possible the obligations which they have assumed -- that they build one industrial installation each in Kosovo.

Third, that the Kosovo League of Communists, as well as the League of Communists in all republics and the Province of Vojvodina must resolutely work toward pooling labor and resources for the speedier economic development of Kosovo -- which this year did not yield expected results -- being set in motion and begun to be realized as soon as possible. This is the most certain way for a lasting way out of the present difficulties, for the development of socialist self-managing relations and the linking of Kosovo's associated labor with the Socialist Republic of Serbia and Yugoslavia on income-based relations.

The implementation of these tasks is of very major economic significance for the development of Kosovo and Yugoslavia but it is also of very major political significance and represents a major contribution to the long-term political, economic and general stabilization of the circumstances in Kosovo.

Public information media have been one of the factors of struggle to overcome the difficulties and more rapidly to consolidate the situation in Kosovo. They deserve a tribute for the fact that all working people in our country today know much more about Kosovo, what happened there and what is happening there. Public information media quite rightly go on paying great attention to the events in Kosovo. There are also lapses, manifestations of sensationalism, one-sided reporting and insistence on unessential details. All our public information media must continue making efforts to inform the public in time about the course of the stabilization process in Kosovo, especially about the positive elements in this process, which means that they should critically follow the ideopolitical and the overall action in Kosovo. Also public information media must carry more objective analysis and criticism of the reasons which led to counterrevolutionary events. The more there is of this criticism in the forums of the League of Communists of Kosovo, in the leaderships of sociopolitical organizations and in delegate assemblies the more public information media will be able to monitor more objectively and in a more constructive way the positive processes in Kosovo and the overall action to overcome the existing state of affairs will be all the more efficient and fruitful.

The political platform which we are discussing today will not only be an encouragement to the further successful development of the situation in Kosovo; it will also provide us with an opportunity to measure how far we have gone, what has been omitted and what has to be tackled in a different way. What is required is a break with the old policy, its fundamental criticism and a greater responsibility of everyone to overcome the existing problems caused by counterrevolutionary actions in Kosovo.

What is required is faster development and the removal of factors hampering it, hard work and involvement of working people, facing the acute problems of education and employment, abandonment of agriculture and of unproductive production. What is required is a complete break with opportunism and with the delays to come face-to-face with complete, bold and open criticism of all serious shortcomings in the work of the League of Communists. This is important for the organized forces in Kosovo and for the entire LCY.

The LCY remains loyal to the principle that any nationalism is equally dangerous. But on this occasion too, as always up till now, we must resolutely oppose especially the kind of nationalism, which, encompassing the League of Communists itself, has crudely encroached on the basic values of our socialist revolution and caused a serious social crisis. Under no circumstances can this signify that the struggle against any nationalistic manifestation in any environment whatsoever can be put off or weakened.

The counterrevolutionary events are of wider significance both for the LCY and for our social self-management community. We were absolutely right in maintaining that from these past events in Kosovo we can and we must draw lessons for all the republics and provinces, both for the struggle against all aspects and protagonists of nationalism and in the struggle for socialist self-management and democratic relations in our society as a whole. On this occasion we must, once again, refer to Yugoslav-Albanian relations.

The socialist nonaligned Yugoslavia always attached exceptional importance to the development of all-round cooperation with the neighboring countries on the basis of full respect for the principles of independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, equality, noninterference and mutual respect. A consistent respect for these principles Yugoslavia considered and continues to consider to be equally binding on itself, on its neighbors and on all other countries.

Our country has not had nor does it have any territorial claims against any one of its neighbors. Josip Broz Tito, SFRY president and president of the LCY, made a solemn statement on that at the Helsinki Conference on European Security and Cooperation.

We proceed from the fact that national minorities must be a link of understanding and friendship between the neighboring countries, a factor in the rapprochement of the peoples, and that their unhampered development should contribute to the consolidation of cooperation between us and our neighbors. We are consistently working for this. Our unalterable stand has been and remains that the internal differences between Yugoslavia and its neighbors, and also the differences regarding their international position, should not be an obstacle to the development of goodneighborly relations and cooperation.

Thanks to this policy, and as a result of joint efforts, we have attained results in our cooperation with individual neighboring countries which can serve as an example of goodneighbourly relations.

For decades Yugoslavia has been making efforts to normalize and develop Yugoslav-Albanian relations on these foundations and in all spheres. Despite the deep-seated and principled ideological differences with Albania, our country set aside these differences, strictly respecting the principle of noninterference in the internal affairs of neighboring Albania and respecting the inalienable right of every people freely and independently to choose the paths of its development, and that every country may in a sovereign way lay down its policy. We proceeded and we continue to proceed from the principle that the Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia, which, constitutionally and in practice, enjoys full equality with our other nations and nationalities, should be a bridge of rapprochement and friendship between the peoples of the one and other country. We believed and we believe that the development of Yugoslav-Albanian goodneighborly cooperation is a component part of the interest of the SFRY and of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania regarding the consolidation of independence and security in the Balkans and further afield, the interest which we considered and continue to consider to be equally common to both countries.

To strengthen peace and stability in the Balkans and to turn this part of the world into an area of peaceful equal cooperation and friendship has been and remains one of the essential tasks and priorities of Yugoslav foreign policy, the policy of goodneighborly relations.

However, the approach of the Albanian leadership to all this has not been the same by far. Albania did not abide and does not abide by the principle on whose basis alone mutually useful cooperation on an equal footing can develop or objectives of goodneighborly relations can be pursued. The policy of the neighboring Albania is characterised by enmity toward the policy of our country, toward socialist self-management and toward Yugoslavia's nonalignment. The attacks by the Albanian leadership on our society as allegedly "revisionist" are aimed, as the most responsible Albanian leaders themselves say, at overthrowing the social system of socialist Yugoslavia.

Disregard for periodic temporizing deliberate channeling and shaping of relations and cooperation in keeping with greater-Albanian claims on Yugoslavia, represent the constant factors of Albanian policy toward our country. The adverse activity of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania toward our country, and its activity from positions of greater-Albanian nationalism and irredentism were particularly manifested during the past few years. The Albanian leadership has embarked on a dangerous way of engaging in subversive activity against our country.

The interest in the rights and position of national minorities living in neighboring countries is a legitimate matter and represents one of the fundamental principles of SFRY policy. However, the paternalistic and subversive "interest" of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in the position of Albanians in our country represents interference in the SFRY's internal affairs. It is directed at provoking and spurring Albanian nationalism and irredentism and at provoking national intolerance in our country.

An unbridled anti-Yugoslav campaign is being conducted from Albania. This campaign manifested itself in a drastic way at the recent Congress of the Albanian Workers Party [AWP]. Its basic characteristics are crude interference in the internal affairs of our country, attacks on our socialist self-management and our nonaligned policy, open and unreserved support for nationalist and irredentist demonstrations, slogans and demands in Kosovo, and chauvinist attempts to sully our peoples. Enver Hoxha's speech at the congress was aimed at fanning nationalistic passions and disseminating hatred. We will not now go into whether this is done in order to cover up everything which represents the difficult and painful daily life of the people of Albania or for some other reason. One thing is obvious: Such a policy harms the interests of Yugoslav-Albanian cooperation and harms the interests of the Albanian people themselves, and the interests of the peoples of both countries.

The remarks by the first secretary of the AWP Central Commitee about "noninterference" and nonexistence of territorial claims on our country are profoundly at odds with the activity, subversive statements and practice pursued by the Albanian leadership toward our country. The support in the congress report for counterrevolutionary activities in Kosovo, primarily for the "Kosovo-Republic" slogan, and the demand that all "Albanian" areas in Yugoslavia should be included in such a "republic", make the statement about noninterference and respect for the territorial integrity of Yugoslavia valueless and formalistic. It is hypocritical to talk about Albania's joint security interest in Yugoslavia and at the same time to attempt to undermine Yugoslavia, to exacerbate reciprocal relations and deepen mistrust and tension in them. The dreams about "greater-Albania", about the alleged promise to "return" Kosovo to Albania are obviously matters which preoccupy the leadership of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the AWP. Objectively speaking, this brings grist to the mill of those circles in the world which do not find equal international cooperation to be a factor of peace and stability which suits their interests and which are trying to disrupt the already established relations and cooperation in this part of the world and to turn the Balkan peninsula once again into a "powder keg".

Of course, we would consider the Albanian state's interest in the rights and position of Albanians in our country natural if an attitude of conquest and nonrespect for the sovereignty and the integrity of the country in which a section of the Albanian nation lives freely in a socialist community of equal nations and nationalities did not stand behind it. However, one one can believe in good intentions of this kind of "interest" when demands are made of a sovereign country to change its constitutional system and when under the garb of "concern" about the "destinies" of Albanians in Yugoslavia demands are made for Yugoslavia to be rearranged. Is this not crude interference in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia, and isn't Albania itself against any interference in its internal affairs? Does Albania permit anyone outside "to be concerned" about life and human rights in Albania? How is it possible, from the congress platform, to demand the solution of the rights of national minorities in other countries "in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism", without recalling at the same time that national minorities in Albania in fact exist and without ensuring for these minorities even the minimum rights guaranteed by the acts of the international community?

Our country has displayed complete latitude, patience and tolerance toward this kind of policy by the Albanian leadership. Is it possible to continue so after everything that has happened and is happening now? I am convinced that -- precisely in the interest of friendship between the peoples of our two countries and of goodneighborly cooperation -- one must unmask the reactionary chauvinist essence of the policy of Albanian leadership and its pseudorevolutionary and pseudo-scientific phrasemongering.

Guided by the principle of mutual respect and welcoming the achievement of socialist construction in every country, Yugoslavia remains open to cooperation with Albania such as it is. This cooperation must be based on consistent respect for international law, and on equality and reciprocity. Responsibility for the present state of Yugoslav-Albanian relations lies on the Albanian side. Yugoslavia will determine its policy toward Albania depending on all this.

The League of Communists and all socialist forces in all the republics and in the Province of Vojvodina are confronted by the constant and, at this point, very topical task of fighting against nationalism in its own environment, against the attempt to blame the entire Albanian nationality in Kosovo and Yugoslavia for all the events in Kosovo, and against the slogans which are trying to shake the belief in togetherness. This struggle must be resolute and uncompromising. Any leniency and delay and any liberal attitude toward nationalism will later return with a vengeance.

It is understood that this struggle against nationalism must be first and foremost a political struggle, a struggle to convince the people and to open up socialist prospects and for the development of self-management and illuminating our future in togetherness.

The struggle against etatism, unitarism and separatism is the basis of the struggle against nationalism. In the struggle against nationalism greater emphasis must be placed on the class approach. The pooling of labor and resources on self-management foundations is one of the basic levers of a genuine fight against nationalism in Yugoslavian dimensions.

The experiences gained from the events in Kosovo have also pointed to a series of serious problems in the League of Communists as a whole. The events in Kosovo have clearly shown that a (?direct) and firm link between communists and citizens, working people and the young has been missing also as a consequence of the poor work of communists in the Socialist Alliance and the League of Socialist Youth. If there is no live activity of the Socialist Alliance there can be no position for man either: In such a case the breadth and democratic nature of the political life is lost and the League of Communists closes itself within itself and remains without a broader base among the masses.

Just as the LCY at one time began to settle accounts with dogmatic centralism and unitarism, it must now find strength to settle accounts with similar phenomena and dangers at the republican and provincial etatisms and unitarisms which, we see clearly now, hinder the development of self-management and undermine the unity of the Yugoslav market and of Yugoslavia's working class. The struggle for togetherness must be waged with equal intensity at the federal, republican and provincial level as well as in every cell of our society.

We must emphasize once again that the independence of the League of Communists of the republics and provinces and their primary responsibility for the situation in their own environment cannot be understood as a ban on other communists and party organs in other environments being able to make critical comments on that which is not right. This, after all, is one of the basic principles of democratic centralism, the condition for building a firm ideopolitical and action unity of the LCY.

In proposing to the Central Committee the adoption of the political platform, the Presidium proceeds from the fact that what the LCY and our public and, in particular, communists, working people and citizens in Kosovo need is a comprehensive political document which will -- by relying on the LCY program, the SFRY Constitution and our entire policy -- explain the causes of the counterrevolution and the situation in Kosovo. Designate the chief directions of the entire social activity in the political and socio-economic consolidation of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and unfold for the working class, young people, intelligentsia and all working people of the towns and villages of the province, broad perspectives of further general progress within the framework of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the SFRY. At the same time, the platform will be precious assistance and a kind of manual for the ideopolitical activity and action by communists, basic organizations and organs of the League of Communists, sociopolitical organizations, self-managing organs and other subjects and institutions of the political system of socialist self-management.

It goes without saying that this document makes no pretension at having provided a final analysis of all the causes and experiences, of exhausting all arguments and all current and long-term issues. The unified and clear assessments and attitudes of the League of Communists on the most significant issues of this time in Kosovo should contribute to the efforts made by the League of Communists of the entire country in helping the intensive political action which is being waged in Kosovo.

Central Committee Discussion

LD172112 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1046 GMT 17 Nov 81

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 17 Nov (TANJUG) -- The LCY Central Committee met today at its 22nd session at which it should discuss and adopt the LCY political platform for the action of the organized socialist forces on the further development of socioeconomic relations, consolidation of socialist self-management, brotherhood, unity and togetherness in Kosovo. The session was opened by Dusan Dragosavac, president of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee. Dobroslav Culafic, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, submitted the introductory report.

Before the discussion on the first point on the agenda started, a commission was formed which, on the basis of the comments, proposals and suggestions made at today's session, will carry out the editing of the text of the political platform on Kosovo. The working Presidium was composed of Dobroslav Culafic, Milojko Drulovic, Ali Sukrija, Kiro Hadzivasilev and Dusan Dragosavac.

Other points on the agenda of the 22nd session are reports on the preparations so far for the 12th Congress of the LCY and the report on the one year of work of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee.

Members of the statutory and supervisory commissions, secretaries of the Presidium of the Central and Provincial Committees of the League of Communists, secretaries of the Presidium of the League of Communists organization in the Yugoslav People's Army, presidents of the Federal Conference of SAWPY, of the Federal Committee of SUBNOR [Federal Board of the National Liberation War Veterans' Associations] of the Conference of the Socialist Youth Federation, Council of the Trade Union Federation and of the Federal Conference of the Reserve Officers' Federation are taking part in the work of the session.

Though one or other enemy attack can surprise us, I nevertheless believe that Kosovo's sociopolitical forces have complete insight into the political situation of the province and that they can firmly hold in their hands the strings of that situation even if they are at times tangled up, Sinan Hasani [member of the Provincial Committee of Kosovo League of Communists], the first speaker in the debate, stressed. This assessment is based on an intensive activity which has been taking place in all environments of the province's sociopolitical life over several months on the basis of the action program of the Provincial Committee and the conclusions of higher party forums and state-political organs.

Speaking about the enemy action of nationalistic elements, Sinan Hasani stressed that the platform correctly says that the causes of that action do not lie in the province's underdevelopment but, on the contrary, in its very accelerated development. The fact, Hasani added, that the individual phases of that development had proceeded in an uncontrolled manner or through isolationism, is another matter. Lack of jobs exacerbated by the erroneous orientation in education had led among a section of the young people to confusion, lack of prospects and dissatisfaction and they easily became prey to nationalists and irredentists who had offered them solutions from the socioeconomic system of Albania which, is a centralist method of planning. Production and distribution ensures so-called full employment and the identity of all stomachs. [as received] Nationalistic and irredentist elements, Hasani said, in particular those from the ranks of the intelligentsia, by using on one hand the errors of the leadership and the difficulties and contradictions which had accompanied the development of the province, and by relying on the other hand on the identical principles of nationalistic ideology preached by the leadership of the Albanian Workers' Party and by emigre political organizations of Albanians in some West European countries, began silently and semi-illegally, by allegedly working for the national affirmation of the culture of the Albanians, to build in all the fields of the sociopolitical life their nationalistic ideology in order to camouflage later, by borrowing or copying the program principles of the Albanian Workers' Party, their anticommunist work with the beautiful phrases of the left.

Judging by everything, professional agencies have participated in working out this program and then, by an established scenario, trouble after trouble started, with the aim of either overthrowing or at least inflicting damage on our community which is resolutely fighting for the development of autochthonous socialism and for the goals of the Nonaligned Movement.

At the same time, Hasani added, Enver Hoxha not only extended unreserved support to Albanian nationalists and irredentists and encouragement for their continued action, but he also presented himself, from the congress rostrum, in a theatrical manner, as their strategist and ideological leader.

Speaking about the punishments meted out to leaders of enemy demonstrations and members of a series of enemy illegal groups which had been uncovered or which were still being uncovered, Hasani said that in this way the enemy had been paralyzed and made incapable of extensive actions which he and his allies wanted. Regardless of the names of these enemy organizations -- the "National Front for the Liberation of Kosovo", the Albanian Marxist-Leninist Party in Yugoslavia", "the Red Front", etc -- their intentions and goals are the same. In my view they are branches of the Albanian Workers' Party.

Moreover the municipal organizations of the League of Communists carried out a significant piece of work particularly in sorting out the situation in the League of Communists organisations and in other political organizations as well. As a result of this activity between 11 March and 6 November this year, 663 members were expelled from the League of Communists, 373 were struck off party membership records, 11 League of Communist basic organizations were disbanded, 342 people were suspended or expelled from their place of work -- 138 persons were suspended in the education field alone.

Assessing the present political situation in the province, Hasani said that it continues to be difficult because of the presence of enemy activity. In some of its aspects, such as slogan daubing, dissemination of pamphlets, manifestations of sabotage and threats to carry out subversive terrorist actions, not only is the enemy activity not diminishing but it is showing tendencies of growth. Attempts by enemy elements to establish links with individual work collectives have been noticed. What is favorable is the fact that in a great number of cases the protagonists of these activities are uncovered fairly quickly, and of course appropriate measures are taken against them.

Concluding his speech Hasani dwelt on the question of emigration from Kosovo. We in the province, said Hasani, still do not have an objective analysis of the problem of the emigration of the non-Albanian population from the Kosovo area. This fact alone shows how unpolitically and irresponsibly we relate to this very difficult and very sensitive question which pertains to the field of intranational relations. We must resolutely differentiate ourselves from the not insignificant number of the so-called "lawyers" and "opportunists" who explain the emigration of the Serbs and Montenegrans exclusively in terms of economic migration, who in looking for employment and in obtaining the use of social [words indistinct] who justify this imigration by referring to Albanian emigration from Turkey (?and so forth). We must throw the communists and activists of other sociopolitical organizations into action so that as a result of their resolute efforts they can shed light on the reasons for the earlier emigration and place themselves at the head of the action against all those (?overt and covert) nationalists and hooligans who today in various ways, ranging from crude to psychological pressure, are responsible for the fact that the problem of the emigration of the non-Albanian population continues to increase.

Actions that aim at determining the number of people reporting for emigration but which are not concrete actions to prevent this from happening are not acceptable either. We have the strength to deal with this problem. Only in this way will we restore reciprocal confidence and strengthen brotherhood and unity of our nations and nationalities, said Sinan Hasani in conclusion.

The LCY's political platform for the stabilization of Kosovo is of great significance to our struggle against the activities of irredentists and Albanian nationalists as well as all other enemies of Yugoslavia. The platform is of great signfiicance in the struggle for self-management, brotherhood, unity, and togetherness of all the nations and nationalities in Kosovo and in the whole of the country, for independence and nonalignment, Dusan Popovic said. He stressed that the complex nature and the extent of the counterrevolution in Kosovo imposes the need to examine and assess these events in the broader context of the entire socioeconomic, ideopolitical and other trends in the country and international events.

Along with the special war with which anti-Yugoslav forces have always tried to interfere in our internal affairs an attempt has been made, through the counterrevolution in Kosovo, to penetrate our area. One should not be deceived, Popovic stressed, that the enemy is not seeking other directions of penetration too. We, therefore, must neither allow the creation, nor contribute to the emergence of weak areas in other parts of the country.

Popovic then went on to say that provinces should certainly not be etatist, as is stressed in the platform in connection with Kosovo. However, the federation, republics and municipalities too should not be etatist.

This is not a question of either singling out one etatism or of pitting one etatism against another but of eliminating etatism at every level.

Popovic also pointed to the growth in nationalism in Vojvodina and stressed that these phenomena were not a product of spontaneity but proof of the revived activity of the forces of greater Serbian nationalism. As opposed to the slogan of Albanian nationalists "Kosvo - a Republic", the Serbian nationalists are demanding the liquidation of autonomous provinces. In the assessment of our entire situation we must bear in mind the growth of Serbian nationalism. The platform, therefore, must point more directly and precisely to the full seriousness and danger of this tendency and these forces. They must not be underestimated. He who believes that we liquidated greater Serbian nationalism with our victory in the national liberation war or at the Brioni Plenum is deeply wrong.

Stressing that in the struggle against Albanian nationalism no kind of, not even temporary, alliances with any other kind of nationalism can be made, Popovic said that the ideopolitical platform of the struggle against nationalism had been explained and formulated at the 10th and 11th LCY Congresses. In this context, both at the 10th and 11th Congress Tito devoted much attention to the equality of the nations and nationalities and of the republics and autonomous provinces.

As they are not mentioned in the platform, Popovic proposed that these questions be included and based on the ideopolitical attitudes of the 10th and 11th Congress, thus stressing the ideopolitical continuity of the action.

Aleksandar Grlickov referred to the recent Eighth AWP Congress at which the main speech was made by Enver Hoxha, first secretary of the Central Committee.

"As he has done to date, in denying all other socialist alternatives and the experiences of other socialist countries, Enver Hoxha has remained consistent with his statist-Stalinist concept of social relations, of state and of party, repeating his assessment that Albania is the 'only socialist country', and that the AWP is the 'only true Marxist-Leninist party in power'."

Stressing that Enver Hoxha is against any kind of search for socialism and is thus against socialism as a world process, Grlickov added that no one in the world needs to be convinced of the degree to which Hoxha slept through the contemporary history of the development of the world socialist process. This is not only a normal sleep but also a change in his allegiance to individual socialist alternatives which are even abondoned in those countries in which they occurred and to which he himself once belonged. He defends even that which is abondoned by all those who in their own way search for new solutions in varying intensity and who adapt existing circimstances in accordance with new conditions.

It is not even surprising, Grlickov continued, that Enver Moxha in his congress speech looks for the roots of so-called Yugoslav revisionism in the far-off past, asserting that the Yugoslav revisionists were the first party in power which set itself the task of undermining socialism. He sees this undermining of socialism in self-management. In 1978 he reacted most quickly to Edward Kardelu's book "Directions of the Development of the System of Socialist Self-Management" by producting his own treatise on Yugoslav self-management.

Allegedly expressing concern at the position and rights of Albanians in Kosovo, this top Albanian leader in fact confirmed a long-term strategic orientation toward open interference in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia and the expression of territorial claims parts of our country, Grlickov stressed. Had Hoxha merely insisted on Albania's right to be interested in the position of its people in our country, a right which we respect and deny no one -- for we are guided by it in relations with other countries -- then his advocation of mutual trust and sincere cooperation between Albania and its neighbors would be quite understandable.

However, from the congress platform he proclaimed such a policy toward Yugoslavia which encourages and offers support to Albanian nationalism and irredentism and counterrevolution in Kosovo, a policy which is in contrast to the valid norms of international conduct. Thus from the party congress platform the anti-Yugoslav campaign which has been officially waged from Tirana in connection with the counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo was confirmed.

All this requires our resolute opposition and clear definition of our stance in relation to the development of relations with Albania. Enver Hoxha's insistence on changing the SFRY Constitution and granting the Autonomous Province of Kosovo the status of a republic in the context of the Yugoslav federation, Grlickov said, precisely represents inadmissible interference in our internal affairs. Is not this the sovereign right of each country or people? And has not Albania itself resolutely opposed interference from abroad and now violates this principle, referring to its alleged right "to look after the fate of Albanians in Yugoslavia"?

With his attacks on the decisions of the anti fascist National Liberation Council of Yugoslavia [AVNOJ], Enver Hoxha not only interferes openly today in our internal affairs but also directly questions the basic foundations on which the new Yugoslavia was created -- a socialist community of equal nations and nationalities. In disputing the decisions of the second AVNOJ session, Enver Hoxha is neither alone nor original. It is well known that they were disputed at the time when they were adopted, as well as to date, unfortunately, by those who wanted to annex individual parts of Yugoslavia to their own "greater state". The demand of a republic for Kosovo in the context of the SFRY is aimed at the realization of this strategic aim of Albania, the annexation of the newly-created republic to the main republic of Albania. It is a fact that the demand for the annexation to Albania of all Yugoslav territories inhabited by Albanians has been stressed several times from the Albanian side. Otherwise, what could Enver Hoxha's citing of his conversation with Tito in 1946 mean, as well as the presentation of the Albanian standpoint, current then and evidently now, that Kosovo and the other areas inhabited by Albanians belong to Albania and should be returned to it? Comrade Minic gave an exhaustive explanation of this.

Even if we neglect the historical circumstances that the idea of a so-called Balkan federation was then topical, such a reminder today really expresses open territorial claims of Albania against Yugoslavia and represents encouragement to and the defining of the final goal of irredentist forces in Kosovo in persisting in their attempt to break up Yugoslavia. It should be stressed that Enver Hoxha is not the creator of the idea about a greater Albania. This is a loan from the Albanian fascists and nationalists and their patrons during the time of the occupation. This is the sense of his linking with the same forces today for the realization of this illusion. It is the matter of the linking with Albanian emigre groups of various types.

Enver Hoxha, Grlickov continued, calls on world public opinion not to remain indifferent to the alleged violation of human rights and liberties of Albanians in Kosovo, and at the United Nations the Albanian Mission distributes pamphlets of Enver Hoxha's speech at the committee which has recently been discussing human rights. Hoxha's Albania is thus trying to discredit Yugoslavia for alleged lack of respect for the Helsinki Declaration. This is being done by the only European country which did not take part in the world of the CSCE and whose head of state did not sign the Helsinki Declaration proclaiming the principle of the inviolability of borders. In this way Enver Hoxha expressed his lack of acceptance of the established borders in the Balkans, as well as his desire to change the existing borders. Whenever the Albanian side has made statements about the readiness to develop goodneighborly cooperation we always welcomed them with satisfaction, hoping that this would produce certain results to the advantage of both sides. But Enver Hoxha took advantage of such openness by Yugoslavia and especially the comprehensive cooperation with the Autonomous Province of Kosovo in order for subversive activity to be carried out against our country.

He thus pursued a twofold and two-faced policy in relation to Yugoslavia and declared himself in favor of good relations of which he would take no small advantage and, on the other hand, he took advantage of this situation for other impermissible subversive aims.

All the processes which in Albania tended toward internal democratization and to opening up in relation to the world and the expansion of equitable and mutually advantageous cooperation with other countries, in particular with Yugoslavia, were drastically suppressed and their exponents were mercilessly liquidated. Many moderate Albanian revolutionaries and war cadres were liquidated precisely because they did not agree with Enver Hoxha's policy, based on strength and force, two-faced and secret, in the case of Yugoslavia. Enver Hoxha called the exponents of these instances of resistance traitors and foreign agents and so forth, ignoring the fact that these ideas opposed to his own were born at the very center of the AWP, in the ranks of the Albanian cadres themselves.

After the latest speech by Enver Hoxha and his open interference in Yugoslavia's internal affairs, as well as his open support of counterrevolution and demonstration of quite clear territorial claims, Grlickov said, we unfortunately cannot cherish illusions that our policy of goodneighborliness, openness and readiness for comprehensive and equitable Yugoslav-Albanian cooperation will meet with understanding and be accepted in the foreseeable future.

However, this by no means signifies that we should change our approach toward cooperation with the neighboring People's Socialist Republic of Albania, not only because we cannot deny our own principles, but also because we are convinced that the day will come when our policy, if not now, then in the near future, will nevertheless meet with understanding and support in Albania itself, for we are convinced that consciousness and realization have not disappeared and that such a policy alone, only developed sincere and friendly relations between two countries and the strengthening of mutual trust, suit the needs of the people and working class of our countries, and peace and security in this part of the world and more widely, Grlickov said in conclusion.

Jovan Vujadinovic said that it is obvious that the demand for a Kosovo republic was from the start an unconvincing mask [words indistinct] to conceal the dark aims toward which Albanian irredentism was striving with extensive support from Tirana and other conspiracy centers. It was not very difficult to establish that this demand had no connection with the justified aspirations of the Albanian nationalities in Kosovo and other parts of Yugoslavia, aspirations for their full and comprehensive [words indistinct] in our socialist community in which all are equal.

Emphasizing that Kosovo communists are facing really exceptionally complex and difficult tasks, Vujadinovic stressed that they had to wage their struggle simultaneously on several fronts -- for the consolidation of their own ranks, for the eradication of the revolution, for reducing the enemy's scope for action, for increasing their own influence on the masses, for a powerful reaffirmation of the ideas of Yugoslav togetherness, and brotherhood and for unity in Kosovo. In addition to all of this, there was also the struggle for economic stabilization and the further social and economic development on healthy foundations which would pave the way to great prosperity in Kosovo in all spheres of life.

Silva Jereb said that it is indispensable that all of the sociopolitical organizations should -- in keeping with their constitutional role and statutory orientations -- develop the platform and adapt it to the needs and conditions of their activities and should harmonize their views on all of the key questions of social policy within the framework of social action, whose champion will be the Socialist Alliance.

In our political action, Silva Jereb stressed, priority must be given to the programs' clear definition and formulation of everything that unites us, everything that kept us together yesterday, keeps us together today and will keep us together tomorrow. This is how we interpret togetherness in our platform.

Silva Jereb stressed that we must eliminate all of the causes of the emergence of nationalism and resolutely struggle against them in all other environments too, not only in Kosovo.

After saying that this platform created great obligations for the League of Communists and all conscious socialist forces, Milos Minic dealt with the latest attacks on Yugoslavia by Enver Hoxha and other Albanian leaders. True interpretations of the essence and the goals of Enver Hoxha's attacks on our socialist self-management, on our federal system, on the second session of the Antifacist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia, on the LCY, on Yugoslavia's entire social system, on Yugoslavia's nonaligned foreign policy, and so on have been given both here and by the foreign public.

Minic said that there is nothing new in what the Albanian propaganda and Enver Hoxha have done; they have done it many times since 1948. They take the irredentist counterrevolutionary demonstrations in Kosovo in March and April as grounds to carry out severe attacks on our country. Because enemy irredentist actions have been decisively defeated, Enver Hoxha openly backs, encourages and incites the continuing action of Albanian irredentits in Yugoslavia and gives full support to irredentists' demands that the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo be given the status of a republic. Comrade Culafic rightly said in his introductory report -- and this was also stated by some other comrades a few days ago -- that it was now clear that the slogan "Kosovo - a Republic" was in fact a slogan of Enver Hoxha and of the present Albanian leadership, that it was not invented and that it did not appear in Yugoslavia by chance. I am not saying that there have not been people and circles in our country who also deliberated in that direction. For Enver Hoxha this is the first stage leading to the second stage -- that is, to the secession of Kosovo and of other Yugoslav territories on which "Yugoslav Albanians" (as Enver Hoxha described them in his report) live mixed with Serbs, Macedonians, Montenegrins, Turks, Muslims and others.

Everything that Enver Hoxha said in his report about this is not really new, because all of this has been said in over 50 anti-Yugoslav articles of Albanian propaganda since March and April this year in connection with the events in Kosovo. The only thing that is new is that Enver Hoxha and other Albanian leaders have made use of the congress of the Albanian Workers' Party to openly proclaim their greater Albanian irredentist policy and interference in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia, before the entire world public as their official policy.

However, in his report Enver Hoxha committed many major forgeries of history. For instance, in connection with the first session of the National Liberation Committee of Kosovo and Metchija held from 31 December 1943 to 2 January 1944, in connection with the attitudes of the LCY Central Committee at that time to that session of the National Liberation Committee, in connection with the rebellion by Ballists in Kosovo in 1945, in connection with the relations between the national liberation movement of Yugoslavia and the national liberation movement of Albania and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and Communist Party of Albania during and after the war until 1948 when Enver Hoxha killed the most significant members of the Albanian leadership and aligned the People's Republic of Albania and the Communist Party of Albania with the Cominform and Stalin against the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia.

The time for me to comment on all these forgeries is limited, Minic said. I would like to speak only of two crude forgeries of the history of Albanian-Yugoslav relations by Enver Hoxha, which cannot be passed over without a relevant commentary for more reasons than one. This is also necessary because of our public, because people who in some of our areas have been able to watch Albanian television and listen to Albanian radio might become victims of deception and forgeries by Enver Hoxha and might believe his statements. This is also necessary on account of the foreign public because some Western agencies and papers carried these forgeries all over the world.

This refers to Enver Hoxha's accusations that "Belgrade has not fulfilled the official promise made by President Tito in 1946 that he will return Kosovo to Albania," I am quoting from the report of a world agency and second, again I quote from the same world agency, "that Yugoslavia has tried several times to annex Albania to its federation as the seventh republic."

These forgeries must be exposed because people begin to believe a lie if this lie is not exposed by telling the truth.

Thus Enver Hoxha said the following in his report: "After the war in 1946 a delegation of our country which I led paid the first official visit to Yugoslavia. In the talks which we had on that occasion with Tito, he wanted to know what I thought of the resolution of the question of Kosovo and of other Albanian areas in Yugoslavia. I expressed the position of the Albanian party and supported the idea that Kosovo and other areas populated by Albanians should go to Albania and that they should be returned to Albania. The Albanians had fought to have a free and sovereign Albania to which other Albanian parts of Yugoslavia should now be added. President Tito replied (and now Enver Hoxha quotes Comrade Tito's words): 'I agree with your view but we cannot do this for the time being because the Serbs will not understand us.' (end of quotation of Tito's words) This solemn promise by Tito in connection with the great principled problem has not been accompanied by any action whatsoever by Yugoslavia, they have not kept their world in anything." (end of quotation from Enver Hoxha's report)

Now here is another quotation from Enver Hoxha's report: "The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has never interferred in Yugoslavia's internal affairs. What happened was exactly the opposite. The Yugoslav revisionist hatched a conspiracy to liquidate the leadership of the Albanian Communist Party and to incorporate Albania in the Yugoslav federation as the seventh republic, believing that in this annexationist and imperialist way they would once and for all be able to resolve the problem of the whole Albanian nation, but these conspiracies did not succeed and never will succeed." (end of quotation)

I want to repeat this once more. Enver Hoxha quotes in his report words which are atributed to Comrade Tito and, I imagine, he thinks as follows: Tito is no longer able to deny what Hoxha says and Hoxha knows that during his talks with Tito in 1946, talks involving him alone and not the two delegations, just the two of them, no notes were taken and no shorthand record was made. However, there is a living authentic witness to this conversation of 1946 -- former Yugoslav ambassador to Albania. Josip Djerdja who, both as ambassador and as interpreter, was the only other person to be present during this conversation between the two. Here is what Comrade Josip Djerdja noted about this conversation: "In 1946 I accompanied to Belgrade the Albanian state and party delegation, which was headed by Enver Hoxha. During the first day of the delegation's stay in Belgrade there was a meeting between Tito and Hoxha, which was attended only by me, as ambassador in Tirana and as interpreter. The first part of the conversation concerned the completion of the agreed defense treaty. On this occasion, with a few explanations Tito handed to Hoxha the text of the draft, with which Hoxha was very pleased, because he envisaged a joint defense action in case of an attack on Albania's independence, integrity and security from any quarter. This was of vital importance for Albania in the circumstances at that time, owing to the situation on its borders.

"It was Enver Hoxha himself who started the second part of the conversation. he said that in Albania they were perfectly aware that a federation between our two countries or, in other words, Albania's entry into the Yugoslav federation was a matter of the immediate future, because that was demanded by the present and future interests of both sides. To those in Albania, movement in this direction would be made considerably easier if they were able to have a clearer idea of what the fate or position of the Kosovo Albanians would be in this federation.

"In reply Tito said that the Yugoslav federation had been built on the basis of certain principles and that in the course of that the ethnic principles had been respected to the greatest possible extent. In keeping with that he expressed his personal conviction that the position of the Kosovo Albanians should quite naturally be considered and regulated in the spirit of such a principle and other historical and economic circumstances. Enver Hoxha expressed his full agreement and satisfaction with Comrade Tito's view."

Now let me tell you, Minic continued, what Josip Djerdja says about another conversation which he had with Enver Hoxha about the federation in early 1948. "Early at the beginning of 1948, Enver Hoxha asked me by telephone to visit him immediately, if possible. As soon as I saw him I realized that he was quite excited. He said, while still in this mood, that according to some statement which he had read that very day Dimitrov had announced direct talks between Sofia and Belgrade on Bulgaria's entry in to the Yugoslav federation. He asked me in this connection immediately to express his astonishment to Comrade Tito and his desire for an unconditional settlement, before a federation with Bulgaria, of the question of the federation with Albania, so as to be able to work jointly on the admission of Bulgaria, which had been on the other side during the war. They in Albania would find it hard if the opposite happened, that is, if Bulgaria, which had fought on the other side, were to find itself in the position of maybe being able to make decisions concerning any aspect of Albania's entry into the federation. It goes without saying that I immediately conveyed "everything outlined above to Tito."

Here then, Minic said, everybody can now easily compare what Enver Hoxha says with what Josip Djerdja says and what Djerdja noted about the Tito-Hoxha talks in 1946 is the truth. It is obvious from this that Enver Hoxha allowed himself to launch a slander "that Yugoslav revisionists," I quote his words, "conspired to include Albania in the Yugoslav federation as the seventh republic."

Our people, especially our younger generation, Minic continued, should know the truth, should know that at that time relations between Yugoslavia and Albania were really fraternal and friendly and were developing on the basis of full equality, mutual truth and mutual assistance. In the conditions created by such relations talks were held at Enver Hoxha's initiative on mergering Albania and all of the other republics of Yugoslavia into the Yugoslav federation and not on separating Kosovo from Yugoslavia and incorporating it into Albania, of which Kosovo has never in its history been a part.

Albanians in Albania should ask Enver Hoxha why he is hiding this from them. Why is he distorting the truth? Why does he deceive them and by means of deception and trickery make them hostile to the SFRY and its nations and nationalities? If they are unable to do so today under Enver Hoxha's despotic regime, one day they will ask this question and ask for an explanation.

If Enver Hoxha's forgeries, Milos Minic went on, concerned only conversations about history we should be able to leave them to historians who would easily discover that he falsifies history and would have no opportunity in giving us the real historical truth about this period of Yugoslav-Albanian relations. They would appraise everybody's behavior, ours toward Albania and theirs toward us, and would see whether there had been any problems in our relations and if so what problems, whether there had been any mistakes and if so what mistakes and so forth and so forth. When writing the history of Yugoslav-Albanian relations historians are sure to establish all of this objectively. The science of history eventually publishes everything and nothing can be hidden and falsified for long. We stand calmly and with a clear conscience before the tribunal of history because the policy of new, socialist Tito's Yugoslavia toward Albania has always been an honorable policy based on principles and inspired by the spirit of brotherhood and friendship with the Albanian people and goodneighborly relations with neighboring Albania, regardless of the character of the Albanian regime, because the latter is exclusively the concern of the Albanian people.

However, Enver Hoxha did not falsify history just for the sake of talking about history. He made sure of the congress of the Albanian Workers' Party in order to be able in that form and in that manner to retierate territorial claims against Yugoslavia and once more confirm his irreconcilable hostility for socialist, self-managing federal, nonaligned Yugoslavia, which is Albania's neighbor and which is linked with Albania through numerous common vital interests -- above all the interests which concern both countries' security, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

In his desire to bring down such a Yugoslavia for the sake of attaining his greater-Albanian irredentist goals, he is in fact causing the greatest damage primarily to the Albanian people and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, as well as to peace security and stability in the Balkans and in Europe -- at least in this part of Europe. Because of the dangerous consequences which such a policy may have for relations between Yugoslavia and Albania and for peace and security in the Balkans, we may not underestimate this policy of the Albanian leadership. On the contrary, it is our duty to react most resolutely to such a policy.

Despite of all this we should not change our policy of good-neighborly cooperation with neighboring Albania. In our relations with Albania we should continue to adhere to the principles to which we adhere in our relations with all of the neighboring countries. We should continue to cultivate the feeling of friendship for the Albanian people.

The nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia, Minic went on, are linked with the Albanian people with the ties of brotherhood and friendship which go back to the time when they wrote with their own blood the main pages of the history of our common struggle against common foes, the fascist enslavers. Our future and our present demand from us that we should, even in the complex conditions created by the policy of the present Albanian leadership, promote cooperation in all of the fields in which it is possible to do so and where to do so in keeping with the interests of both sides on an equal footing and on a reciprocal basis.

Only an independent, sovereign, stable People's Republic of Albania and comprehensive good neighborly cooperation with such an Albania correspond to our, the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia, vital interests. As with all other countries, so with Albania too our country remains open to cooperation in all spheres in which we have mutual interests. But the Albanian leadership will no longer be permitted to abuse this openness as it has done in the past years for propaganda activity against Yugoslavia, for actions by the intelligence service, for setting up illegal irredentist organizations, for inciting counterrevolutionary irredentist actions, for fanning chauvinist hatred of Albanians against the Serbian, Montenegrin, Macedonian and other peoples of Yugoslavia, and so on and so forth.

I have dealt with these issues, Minic said, primarily because it is evident that one of the main aims of Enver Hoxha and other Albanian leaders has been to use their congress to encourage and incite further activity by the Albanian irredentists in Yugoslavia and in particular in Kosovo who suffered severe defeats and who are losing the ground under their feet among Albanians in Yugoslavia and in particular in Kosovo.

In the implementation of his greater Albanian aim, Enver Hoxha is counting in the first place on Albanian irredentists in Kosovo and in other areas; but he also counts on the entire Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia, on national sentiments and the consciousness of Yugoslav Albanains and wants to misuse them and to channel them by calculated deceit in an irredentist and chauvinist direction. This aim of his must be thwarted through broad and powerful political action by the League of Communists and other socialist forces, an action which must penetrate to every Albanian in Yugoslavia.

Enver Hoxha's assertion that Tito agreed that Kosovo should be annexed to Albania but that this could not be implemented because the Serbs were not ready for it represents a grave intrigue and provocation.

This is an attempt to besmirch, after Comrade Tito's death, his historical personality, to diminish respect for him and to reduce his historical greatness in the eyes of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia, in the first place of the Serbian people.

At the same time this is an intrigue directed at fanning chauvinist hatred and enmity by Albanians in Albania and Albanians in Yugoslavia against the Serbian people. It is in this hatred that Enver Hoxha looks for a prop for his irredentist aims as regards Yugoslavia. He tries to poison with this poison in particular the young generations of Albanians. This is the reason why these young generations should know the truth in the first place, they should know that what is at stake is deception, forgery intrigue and provocation. Enver Hoxha is wrong because these intrigues of his will not succeed. They unmask Hoxha and his followers as people who are prepared not to be choosey in their means in the hostile policy toward Yugoslavia.

By forging history, Enver Hoxha is trying to besmirch that period of history during which in the relations between the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia and the Albanian people there was brotherhood, friendship, war camaradery, full mutual trust born from the blood shed jointly by the sons and daughters of the peoples of our two countries in the fire of the national liberation war which they had waged shoulder to shoulder against the common enemy, the fascist enslavers and their servants. After 33 years these, the most glorious, pages in the history of the liberation and revolutionary struggles of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia and the Albanian people are still an obstacle to the greater Albanian irredentist aims of Enver Hoxha toward the SFRY. Regardless of how much Enver Hoxha might strain himself to eradicate by every available means from the consciousness and souls of the Albanians the memories of those unforgettable times, the Albanian people cannot forget that time of brotherhood and friendship, just as our nations and nationalities also do not forget. Despite Enver Hoxha and all those who follow him, the time of renewed brotherhood and friendship of the people and of our two countries, which realized victorious socialist revolutions in the conditions of the national liberation war will return sooner or later, Milos Minic said.

At the end of his speech Milos Minic spoke of the principles on whose basis Albania wishes to establish relations with neighboring countries. Enver Hoxha advocates establishing "trust, understanding, sincere cooperation between the countries of our peninsula," for taking (I quote) "specific and constructive steps for the development of positive relations and the basis of the policy for the development of positive relations on the basis of the policy of goodneighborliness and for making every effort to ensure that mutual respect and sincere understanding prevails in its relations with neighboring countries."

As regards relations with Yugoslavia, Enver Hoxha says: "Albania has been guided by these principles and goals also in its relations with Yugoslavia. It is Albania's wish that the social relations in various spheres between the two countries should develop normally. However, this will depend on Yugoslavia's attitude toward socialist Albania and on its treatment of Albanians in Kosovo and other parts of Yugoslavia."

These statements, Minic said, are evidently intended for the Albanian and international public in order that the accusations and forgeries regarding our country might be more convincing. We could welcome these statements regardless of Enver Hoxha's making them conditional on our treatment of Albania and Albanians in Yugoslavia because in this respect we can only continue our consistent principled policy which we formulated together with Comrade Tito and which we have consistently pursued to date. We would also do so even if all of which I have spoken earlier were not contained in the policy of Enver Hoxha and the Albanian leadership toward Yugoslavia. Since this is not so, we can accept these words of Enver Hoxha with regard to our country only with extreme mistrust and as an expression of an exceptional ability for hypocrisy.

We will believe that the policy of the Albanian leadership will adhere to these principles of which Enver Hoxha talks when the interference of the Albanian Government in Yugoslavia's internal affairs ceases and when the Albanian Government abandons in deeds and not merely in words the adventurist policy of territorial claims against Yugoslavia. Until then this policy of theirs toward Yugoslavia will make the development of goodneighborly cooperation between our two countries very difficult despite the efforts which our country will continue to make in this direction as it has been doing to date, Milos Minic said.

The significance of the platform which lies before us is that it throws light on the many problems present in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo from our Marxist viewpoint, Fadilj Hodza said. The special quality of this document is that it analyzes in a comprehensive way the causes of the counterrevolutionary events and points to their deep reactionary nature and, at the same time, opens up prospects for a long-term solution to the problems with which the working class and all the working people of Kosovo are confronted.

Although the enemy was dealt a serious blow, with his planned propaganda, various provocations, threatening slogans and pamphlets, he continues to try to create and maintain a tense situation. They exert constant pressure on Serbs and Montenegrins, trying thereby to spread distrust among our nations and nationalities. At the same time they are doing everything to attribute this activity of theirs to the Albanian people.

It is a pity that the Albanian nationalists and irredentists received full and unreserved support from the top leadership of Albania. The Eighth AWP Congress took place in a real "delirium of greater Albanian nationalism". Judging by the progress and atmosphere of the congress it would seem that milk and honey were flowing in Albania and that they have no other problems than their concern for Albanians in Kosovo, and Albanians in Yugoslavia.

What the Albanian leadership is now doing reminds one of the policy of the German Nazis, who just before World War II fanned nationalist euphoria in the Sudeten Germans, and it is known what happened later.

Do we Albanians in Yugoslavia really not have the right to be concerned about the fate of the Albanian people and Albania and I might say, Hodza emphasized, that we are concerned at what is going on there. We are not indifferent to what happens there, but for the sake of Albania's sovereignty and independence, for the sake of the principle of noninterference in internal affairs and in the interests of goodneighborly relations between our two countries, we ignore many things on purpose. Unfortunately, our good intentions and desires for good relations with the peoples of Albania have been taken advantage of by the Albanian leadership more than once.

Before us is a long and persistent battle which first and foremost the communists of Kosovo must bear on their shoulders, with the help of the whole of the LCY, Dragutin Kosovac said. It is clear to all of us that this battle can only be won from positions of the continued strengthening of socialist self-management, the equality and brotherhood and unity of our nations and nationalities. A great help to the communists of Kosovo in their difficult struggle will be the struggle against their own nationalism in their own environment. We find the confirmation of this in both Bosnia and Hercegovina in which the attack by the irredentists raised the heads of Serbian, Croatian and Muslim nationalism.

The nationalistic, irredentist and counterrevolutionary forces in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo clearly did not achieve their intentions and aims, but they certainly inflicted quite a lot of damage on the development of self-management social relations and in particular on intranational relations in the province, Bruno Vuletic noted.

Vuletic spoke widely about the activities of communists from the ranks of soldiers and officers in the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] in the units and headquarters stationed in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

The presence of YPA units in Kosovo contributed to and facilitated the prevention of the realization of counterrevolutionary intentions and aims of the enemy. However, the enemy continues his activity by writing slogans, causing individual incidents, exerting pressure in various forms and by occasional provocations. He is particularly active in spreading false news, spreading disinformation with a view to making intranational relations worse, encouraging hatred and preventing the consolidation of the situation with a view to maintaining tension. The slogan about a republic of Kosovo is persistently repeated. Such activities are encouraged and supported by the propaganda media from neighboring Albania. In recent months nationalistic and irredentist elements have been trying to provoke YPA members in Kosovo and have been exerting unworthy and unbecoming pressure on members of the families of people on active service with a view to causing conflicts and isolating the army from the people. They stimulate arguments between children and young people at school on a national basis, which clearly demonstrates the weakness of their position and influence. They spread lies and false news about children being crushed by tanks. They exaggerate the number of victims and try to portray YPA units as occupiers and so forth. Albanian propaganda from Tirana speaks about the terror of the army in Kosovo, while the real situation is that the forces of our army have been and are still there to protect our borders and the constitutional system. This and similar propaganda and other activity by nationalists are being opposed by YPA units and headquarters by means of wide-ranging, political work, cultural, entertainment and sports activity, by the unity of their ranks and by maintaining the prestige, dignity and popular character of our armed forces.

This year members of the Yugoslav People's Army participated in an organized manner on Kosovo territory in numerous labor drives together with the young people and the population. The value of these working activities to date amounts to some 1.5 billion old dinars but their political and social usefulness is certainly far greater.

It should be stressed that at the beginning these actions by YPA members were received with certain reserve by the young people of Kosovo. However, as they were persistently continued, immediate acceptance and growing participation by the young and the population in them took place, which constituted the best reply to the spurious propaganda assertions by nationalists regarding the nature and role of the YPA units.

So, the nationalists reacted to this with even greater impudence and aggression. The number of provocations against YPA members with the intention of causing conflicts with possible grave consequences, which they could then use in their further enemy activity, increased. It should be placed on record that the relevant sociopolitical factors of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo are taking adequate political and other measures regarding these provocations against YPA members.

No matter how useful and good and politically necessary such activities by the YPA forces on Kosovo territory are, they cannot replace or be a substitute for the broad activity by other social forces in Kosovo, in particular by the League of Communists [words indistinct].

Communists and officers believe it unacceptable that individuals who were conspicuous in the course of nationalism and irredentism in public information media, at faculties and other public and political posts and who were forced to resign, should remain in these same or similar institutions in some kind of advisory functions and in all likelihood continue with their unacceptable activity.

In Milojko Drulovic's view the League of Communists and the progressive force of Kosovo, Serbia and Yugoslavia must deal with issues such as quality, ideological clarity and detailed information by our propaganda activities, with the cause of the slower progress in changes in education and schools and above all at the universities and with the questions of consciousness in these environments. Further and deeper analyses of textbooks are necessary, not only of those which are copied or somewhat adapted from the textbooks imported from Albania but also of others which might have a nationalist or similar political content and approach.

What is also needed is a struggle against the Stalinism and dogmatism with which our self-managing system, program orientation, cadre policy, and so forth are being attacked.

Drulovic went on to say that in public, at League of Communist meetings, occasionally in the press and in general in political public opinion the question is being repeatedly asked of why more adequate party accountability for leading cadres is political and state organs which are responsible for what has happened is not being applied but everything (?with one exception) ends with resignations and voluntary departures. Comrade Sinan Hasani has spoken here about this. These questions, Drulovic said, are directed at all of us and not merely at comrades from Kosovo.

As we know, the young people have been poisoned through school syllabuses and through textbooks, Drulovic continued. The consciousness of the working class, communists and Albanian working masses in the struggle against nationalism and irredentism has been lulled to sleep. We must all agree that no liberalism or opportunism may be permitted toward those who are most responsible for nationalism and irredentism having gained such momentum. The consequences of enemy events have been grave. We have made our accurate and sharp assessments while the measures against those most responsible for such a situation have not been in line with all these assessments of ours. Because, we justifiably again ask the question who deceived the Kosovo and Yugoslav public about what was happening in Kosovo. It is not merely nationalists in other environments, but communists, working people and patriots of this country who are concerned for its future.

Drulovic in conclusion quoted details from a book printed before the enemy events in 1980 by the Provincial Institute for Marxist Education. The author of the book is Pajazit Nusi, who was at that time vice president of the Executive Council of Kosovo. The book deals with the cooperation between the universities in Pristina and Tirana. It says that during the 5 years of cooperation about 237 professors from Tirana took part either in regular tuition or at postgraduate studies but that only 62 professors from all the universities in Yugoslavia had actually been in Albania. The book also says that over 20 percent of textbooks had come from Albania, that about 183 candidates from Pristina had been in Tirana in order to acquire advanced scientific knowledge while 62 researchers from Albania visited over 80 villages in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo during one summer alone.

The League of Communists, Drulovic said at the end of his speech, must not allow any kind of alignment on the basis of nationalism in any form whatsoever just because an escalation of nationalism and irredentism has taken place in Kosovo. Even less can all Albanians be suspected, or mistrust in the progressive forces and communists of Kosovo of Albanian nationality be harbored. Albanian irredentists we all know this, are not one and the same thing. [as received] The stabilization of the situation in Kosovo is our common cause but the greatest burden lies on the progressive forces of Kosovo, above all on communists, Albanians.

In Milan Pavic's view, the most important thing to do now is to strive for the further socioeconomic development of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, for the self-managing pooling of associated labor in the province and in the country, for the development of socialist self-management and of the brotherhood, unity and togetherness of the nation and nationalities which live in the province.

Also necessary are an uncompromising struggle in the ideological field with the exponents of nationalism and irredentism, a sharp confrontation with the enemy forces, and an organized and systematic opposition to attempts at interference from abroad. The enemy is not in the least naive, Pavic stressed. He chose the most favorable moment for his action from the point of view of the economic situation. Today we are definitely most vulnerable in the field of the economy. This is why the question of the battle for economic stabilization and harmonious development is one of the most important aspects of our political struggle in general and in Kosovo in particular.

Branko Trpenovski stressed that education and science must be accorded special significance in the ideopolitical action of the socialist forces in Kosovo due to the depth of hostile indoctrination to which schools and faculties had been exposed.

What happened in Kosovo was a real disruption of the communist and class awareness in the ranks of the responsible social structures, Milija Kovacevic said at the beginning of his contribution to the discussion.

Perhaps the worst and most serious trouble concerning all this is the fact that a part of the leading cadres and the political aktiv from the ranks of the Albanian nationality are unable, due to national blindness, to see and comprehend the depth of the meaning of all this for the destiny of the relations and the situation in the province. In fact, their separatist and national patriotism, whose substance and essence are not changed by formal and occasional statements and conclusions, does not allow them to fully understand the real dimensions of the existing situation and the position of Serbs and Montenegrins, which is mainly the basis for the general impression in the Yugoslav public concerning the situation and relations in the province.

Among the Serbian and Montenegrin cadres, Kovacevic added, there is quite a widespread view, for which there is objectively no other explanation, that the above-mentioned lack of readiness and resoluteness is due to a secret attitude and desire to see Kosovo become as Albanian as possible and ethnically purer. This contains separatist calculations. All this is very close to a hostile orientation, though it is not directly organizationally linked with it.

Having endorsed the proposed political platform on Kosovo, Koca Joncic proposed that some of its attitudes be explained in greater detail. He advocated that the section dealing with the high demographic increase was very shyly formulated. I believe that there is no reason why we should not say what we think about this problem clearly and in a principled manner, Joncic continued. All the more so since this problem is dealt with quite extensively in public, and nationalists manipulate with it both in the ranks of the Albanian as well as Serbian and probably of other nationalities too.

I believe that it should be said more openly and clearly, Joncic stressed, that this abnormally high increase is damaging to the Albanian people itself and its normal economic and social development and makes its road of a speedier economic and general social development more difficult.

The proposed LCY platform has placed emphasis on all the essential issues which were in evidence both before and after the counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo. It lays down the direction of the ideopolitical activity of the League of Communists of Kosovo, Serbia and Yugoslavia and of all subjective forces in overcoming the existing situation and the still complex situation in Kosovo, Bogoljub Nedelukovic said. It is obvious that the Kosovo League of Communists were not trained enough to oppose organized and elaborated action by the enemy who succeeded in deceiving a certain number of citizens in particular from the ranks of the young people and part of intelligentsia. Attempts are still being made to introduce in the Albanian nationality hatred toward other nations and nationalities, toward Serbs and Montenegrins who are exposed to pressures [word indistinct].

The AWP Congress represents a step further in the exacerbation, a further blow to goodneighborliness and a blow to the principles on which alone cooperation in this area in Europe can be based, and these are principles of noninterference, independence, integrity and mutual respect and trust, Nijaz Dizdarevic said.

We must be energetic to the end, Dizdarevic stressed, in resistance to anticommunist and hegemonist centers in the world which give support and assistance to enemy emigres in the question of Kosovo, whose aim it is to wreck the unity of our citizens abroad and to demoralize them and separate them from their homeland. There are good reasons for us to make our political action in Western countries more incisive to protect our citizens and to ensure normal conditions for our workers abroad to work and live, and to create conditions for their return home.

Milutin Baltic advocated that individual problems dealt with in the platform should be emphasized even more. This refers above all to the development of self-management in Kosovo, investments, employment and industrialization. Speaking about nationalism, Baltic stressed that the problem is how people become nationalist in our conditions and it is not caused by the fact that we did not clear up these matters 10-12 years ago and that they are now repeating themselves.

Recalling a document compiled for the Provincial Committee which dealt with the fact that the integrity of Yugoslavia and Serbia had been attacked, Kolu Siroka said that that document was compiled in a way which made it sound as if the working people in Kosovo had not been attacked by counterrevolutionary actions, and yet it was they who had been attacked in the first place.

I believe, Kolu Siroka said, that we did not concern ourselves sufficiently with the most dangerous slogan which was introduced at that time -- "Rally Around Albanians." We did not grasp and expose enough this gravest orientation, the worst, the most dangerous and most ruinous for Yugoslavia and for the unity of our nations and nationalities because we dealt with other matters which had no such significance.

Milos Minic Speech

AU171805 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 17 Nov 81

[Unattributed report on speech by Milos Minic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, during morning discussion at the 22d Session of the LCY Central Committee in Belgrade on 17 November]

[Text] Referring to the recent AWP congress, Milos Minic called attention to certain new elements which Enver Hoxha and the highest Albanian leaders have introduced into their anti-Yugoslav policy. What is new, Minic assessed, is the fact that they have proclaimed the greater-Albania policy and interference in Yugoslavia's internal affairs as their official policy. In the same way, Albania's more aggressive policy toward Yugoslavia has assumed a firm direction of hostile undermining and attacks against our country. We must take that into account on a long-term basis, and our reaction to this policy of neighboring Albania must not end with this session. Our country's policy toward Albania and the essence of the anti-Yugoslav policy of the Albanian leadership headed by Enver Hoxha must continue to be explained -- persistently, clearly, with sound arguments and on a long-term basis -- to all our peoples and nationalities and especially to the younger people, Minic said.

Milos Minic then spoke about two falsifications of history in Enver Hoxha's report at the AWP Congress:

[Begin recording] In his report. Enver Hoxha said the following: "After the war, in 1946, a delegation of our country which I myself headed made the first official visit to Yugoslavia.

"In the talks which we held with Tito on that occasion, he wanted to know what I thought about solving the problem of Kosovo and other Albanian regions in Yugoslavia. I expressed the position of the Albanian party, supporting the view that Kosovo and other places populated by Albanians belonged to Albania and that they should be returned to it. The Albanians have fought to have their free and sovereign Albania, to which now other Albanian places in Yugoslavia should also be added. President Tito replied to me" -- and now Enver Hoxha quotes Comrade Tito's words -- "'I agree with your opinion, but at present we cannot do this because the Serbs will not understand us.'" End of quotation of Tito's statement. "That solemn promise by Tito in connection with a great problem of principle was not accompanied by any kind of action on the party of the Yugoslavs. They did not keep their word in any respect." End of quotation from Enver Hoxha's report.

And here is another quotation from Enver Hoxha's report. I quote: "The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has never interfered in Yugoslavia's internal affairs. Precisely the opposite has happened: The Yugoslav revisionists plotted to liquidate the leadership of the Albanian Communist Party and to include Albania in the Yugoslav federation as the seventh republic, thinking that in this way they would be able to solve the problem of the entire Albanian nation once and for all by this annexationist and imperialist method. But those plots did not succeed and never will succeed." I end the quotation.

I want to repeat to you once again: In his report Enver Hoxha cites, as a quotation, the words which he attributes to Comrade Tito, and I assume that he thinks: Tito is no longer there to refute what Hoxha says. And Hoxha knows that no stenographer's or other notes were kept about his talks with Tito at that time in 1946; that is, the talks that he himself personally -- one on one, as is said -- and not the two delegations, held at that time. But an authentic witness of these talks in 1946 is still alive: He is Josip Djerdja, former Yugoslav ambassador to Albania, who was the only one who participated in those private talks both as ambassador and as interpreter. Comrade Josip Djerdja says the following about those talks:

"In the first days of July 1946 I accompanied an Albanian state and party delegation headed by Enver Hoxha to Belgrade. On the first day of the delegation's visit to Belgrade, a meeting between Tito and Hoxha took place which I alone attended as ambassador in Tirana and as interpreter. The first part of talks dealt with completing the defense treaty that had been agreed upon. On that occasion, Tito, with some explanations, presented to Hoxha the text of the projected treaty with which Hoxha was very pleased, because the treaty provided for a joint defense action in the event of an attack against Albania's independence, integrity and security from any side, something that was of vital importance for Albania under the circumstances existing then, in view of the known situation on its borders. Enver Hoxha himself initiated the second part of the talks. He stated that in Albania they were fully aware of the fact that a federation between our two countries, that is Albania's entry into the Yugoslav federation, was a natural thing, a matter of the immediate future, because that was demanded by present and future interests. The movement in this direction would be essentially facilitated for them in Albania if they were able to have a clear picture of what the fate, that is, the position of the Kosovo Albanians would be in that federation. Tito answered in this connection that the Yugoslav federation was built on the basis of definite principles, and that in this connection the ethnic principle was respected to the greatest possible extent. In accordance with this, he expressed his personal conviction that the position of the Kosovo Albanians would quite naturally have to be considered and regulated in the spirit of that principle and other historical and economic circumstances. Enver Hoxha expressed his complete agreement and satisfaction with Comrade Tito;s opinion."

Now let me inform you of what Josip Djerdja says on yet another of his talks with Enver Hoxha about the federation at the beginning of 1948: "Early at the beginning of 1948, Enver Hoxha asked by telephone to immediately visit him if possible.

"As soon as I saw him, I noticed that he was quite excited. In this mood, he said that in a statement which he had read just on that day, Dimitrov announced direct talks between Sofia and Belgrade about Bulgaria's entry into the Yugoslav federation. In this connection, he asked me to immediately convey to Comrade Tito their surprise and their wish that we unconditionally solve the question of federation with Albania prior to any federation with Bulgaria, to be able to jointly solve then the problem of admission of Bulgaria, which was on the other side. In Albania they would find if difficult to accept this if the reverse happened; that is, if Bulgaria, which was on the other side, found itself in a position to perhaps decide about any aspects of Albania's entry into the federation. Naturally, I immediately conveyed the aforementioned to Tito." I end the quotation. You see, this then is the truth, this is the truth [?Minc repeats himself] about the talks between Tito and Hoxha in 1946. It can be seen from this that Enver Hoxha allowed himself to launch a slander that the Yugoslav revisionists -- I quote him -- plotted to include Albania in the Yugoslav federation as the seventh republic. Our people and especially the younger generations must know the truth. They must know that in that period the relations between Yugoslavia and Albania were truly fraternal and friendly, and that they were developing on the basis of complete equality, mutual trust and mutual assistance. They must also know that, under the conditions of these relations, it was at Enver Hoxha's initiative that talks were held about Albania's union with other Yugoslav republics in a Yugoslav federation, and not about Kosovo's separation from Yugoslavia and its annexation to Albania, whose component part it has never been throughout history.

The Albanians in Albania should ask Enver Hoxha why he is [word indistinct], why he is deceiving them and why he is inciting, by deceit and fraud, animosity toward the SFRY and its peoples and nationalities. [end recording]

Discussion of 12th Congress

LD172322 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 17 Nov 81

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Nov (TANJUG) -- At its session today the LCY Central Committee considered a report on the activities of the commissions of the LCY Central Committee in the preparations for the 12th LCY congress. It was judged that all of the LCY Central Committee's five commissions for the preparation of the congress were working in accordance with the conception of the ideopolitical contents and manner of preparation for the 12th congress, which was adopted at the 16th Session of the LCY Central Committee. [passage indistinct]

Speaking about this report the president of the LCY Central Commitee Presidium stressed that at this stage of the preparations for the congress, a total of 607 people, of whom 123 are members of the LCY Central Committee, 70 members of the central and provincial committees and 381 sociopolitical, scientific and cultural workers, were constantly involved in the work of the commissions and their groups and subgroups. However, Dragosavac said, the number of participants in the preparations for the 12th LCY Congress is far greater if one takes into account various consultative meetings and other gatherings which have already been held.

The purpose of the report, he stressed, was not to carry out any deeper analyses of specific questions. This is not necessary, because the work on the preparation of the documents for the congress has made good progress and some of them are in the final stage, so that they will shortly be discussed at sessions of the Presidium and of the LCY Central Commitee. Of course, questions call for preliminary consideration in the Presidium and the Central Committee, which will undoubtedly be useful in finalizing individual parts of the documents and in passing decisions with regard to the preparations for the congress.

Decision on Elections

LD172256 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2030 GMT 17 Nov 81

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Nov (TANJUG) -- On the basis of the LCY statute, the discussions held on the future organization of League of Communist organs in the municipalities, and on the proposal of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, the LCY Central Committee has adopted a decision on authorizing republican and provincial League of Communist Central and Provincial committees to adopt decisions on the organization of League of Communist forums and organs in the municipalities.

The decision authorizes the Central and Provincial Committees, on the occasion of the forthcoming elections in the League of Communists which will be taking place before the 12th LCY Congress, to adopt their own decisions of a statutory nature which will establish more closely the organization, method of elections, role and tasks of League of Communist forums and organs in the municipalities.

In the explanation of the decision which was adopted it states that in discussions up to now on the future organization of League of Communist forums and organs there was a united demand, apart from a certain modification in the Slovene League of Communists, to carry out as early as possible during these elections the standpoint on the constituting of the municipal electoral conference as a forum of the League of Communist municipal organization. This, as is said, would have a positive influence on the continued strengthening, consolidation and stabilization of existing solutions in the organization of League of Communist organs in the municipalities which are constituted in accordance with the realization of Tito's initiative on collective work, decision-making and responsibility.

The municipal electoral conference would be composed of delegates from all League of Communist basic organizations, and would be held every 4 years. It would elect organs of the League of Communist municipal organization, the committee or the conference, as the highest League of Communist organ in the municipality, and a statutory and supervisory commission; it would discuss the report, and assess activity and adopt a work program for the next 4-year period. The committee or conference would elect its political-executive organ. The organization of all League of Communist organs would thereby be based on united principles and the hitherto lack of logic would be overcome in organization of League of Communist organs in the municipality, where the municipal conference is at the same time both forum and organ of the League of Communist in the municipality, submitting to itself the report on work and being responsible to itself for its work. In these conferences a greater and more direct influence by the membership and by basic organizations would be ensured, for a greater number of delegates would take part in their work, that is, delegates from all basic organizations in the municipality.

Given that the way envisaged of constituting League of Communist forums and organs in the municipalities is not completely in accordance with current statutory provisions, the republican and provincial League of Communist Central and Provincial committees, in accordance with [word indistinct] of the LCY statute, and on the basis of the LCY Central Committee decision, need to adopt suitable decisions of a statutory character in order to enable their election in the manner which is being proposed. As a League of Communist forum the municipal conference should, at future congresses and conferences of the League of Communists, be sanctioned and regulated statutorily.

If the current elections in League of Communist municipal organizations were held according to the way set out in existing statutes, and a municipal conference is introduced by means of future changes and supplements to the statutes, it would be necessary immediately after the League of Communist congresses and conferences to hold special elections in League of Communist municipal organizations.

This would mean reorganization and reimplementation of the total preelection and election activity in League of Communist municipal organizations, which would represent great involvement and a burden for municipal organizations just at a time when the main ideo-political activity of the membership, basic organizations and organs of the League of Communists in the municipality and at other levels should be concentrating on implementing the congress standpoints and decisions.

Report on Closing Session

LD172250 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2120 GMT 17 Nov 81

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Nov (TANJUG) -- The League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee Presidency over the past year devoted the greatest attention to the implementation of the economic stabilization policy, the development of the delegate system and the overcoming of the situation created by the counter-revolutionary activity of greater-Albanian nationalists and irrendentists in the Yugoslav Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

The above is stated in the report on the work over the past year of the collective Presidency of the Yugoslav Party Central Committee. The report was adopted this evening at the closing session of the LCY Central Committee, the highest party body in between two congresses. At the session, it was stressed that over the past year, which coincided in time with the first year of work without Josip Broz Tito, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia "struggled with undiminished intensity for strengthening the direct authority of the working class and for the development of socio-economic and socio-political relations on the constitutional foundations."

In the effort fully to insure continuity in the realization of the goals and tasks of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia policy at the international level, the LCY Central Committee Presidency proceeded from the fact that Yugoslavia's international position and the aggravation of the international situation require a continual development of dynamic and diverse cooperation with other communists, socialist and social-democratic parties. Cooperation with national liberation movements and political parties of non-aligned and developing countries was also successful.

The LCY Central Committee this evening also adopted an information of preparations for the 12th LCY Congress to be held in the middle of 1982.

TERRORIST THREAT INTENSIFYING IN KOSOVO

NC171709 Paris AFP in English 1703 GMT 17 Nov 81

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Nov (AFP) -- The threat is growing of terrorist action in Kosovo, the Yugoslav ethnic-Albanian province, Kosovo delegate Sinan Hasani told the Yugoslav Party Central Committee here today.

Mr Hasani said the situation in Kosovo, scene of bloody clashes last April, "is rendered difficult by the continuance of hostile activities" that were intensifying through graffiti, pamphlets, sabotage, and "the threat of terrorist and subversive acts."

"Hostile elements," he said, "are trying to establish contacts in certain industries."

HASANI GIVES DETAILS OF KOSOVO PARTY EXPULSIONS

LD171422 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1046 GMT 17 Nov 81

[Summary] Belgrade, 17 Nov (TANJUG) -- The first speaker in the debate at today's session of the LCY Central Committee was Sinan Hasani, member of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo.

Speaking about the activity of the Provincial League of Communists regarding the settling of the situation in Kosovo, he said that between 11 March and 6 November this year 663 members of the Kosovo League of Communists have been expelled, 373 have been struck off party membership records, 11 basic organization of the League of Communists have been disbanded, and 342 people have either been suspended or expelled from their work positions positions -- including 138 people who have been suspended from their work in the educational sector.

HODZA MADE HONORARY CITIZEN OF UROSEVAC

AU170758 Pristina Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 16 Nov 81

[Text] On the occasion of the 17 November liberation day of Urosevac, tonight all Chambers of the Communal Assembly held a joint session at which Stajo Zdravkovic, president of the Assembly, spoke on the commune's postwar development and its future development plans. At the festive session, which was attended among others by Azem Vlasi, Maj Gen Edvard Kavcic and Maj Gen Ivan Ban, the delegates adopted a decision proclaiming Fadilj Hodza, member of the SFRY Presidency and the LCY Central Committee Presidium, honorary citizen of Urosevac Commune. The title was awarded to Fadilj Hodza as a sign of gratitude for his eminent services in the liberation struggle of our peoples and nationalities and his contribution to building self-managing relations in our society.

Explaining the decision, Sinan Sahiti, president of the Urosevac Communal Conference of the League of Communists, said that both during the war and in the entire postwar period, Fadilj Hodza has made an enormous contribution to developing and preserving the achievements of our socialist revolution and especially the brotherhood and unity of all peoples and nationalities in the Province of Kosovo, the Republic of Serbia and Yugoslavia. Today also, Sinan Sahiti continued, Fadilj Hodza is in the front ranks of the struggle of the LCY and the League of Communists of Serbia and especially the struggle for consistently implementing the action program of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo.

Thanking the Assembly for its decision proclaiming him honorary citizen of Urosevac Commune, Fadilj Hodza advocated a further strengthening of brotherhood and unity because they have been created by blood and not by slogans. It is only in our togetherness, Fadilj Hodza said, that we can build our happier future.

At the festive session of the Urosevac Communal Assembly, the November prizes were presented to a number of deserving organizations and individuals. A telegram of greetings was sent from the session to Yugoslavia's Presidency and the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

BRIEFS

WHEAT SOWING -- Belgrade, 16 Nov (TANJUG) -- This autumn in Yugoslavia (until October 10) wheat was sown on one million 353 thousand 454 hectares. This is 86.4 per cent of the planned one million 566 thousand hectares to be sown with wheat. According to experts' estimates realistic conditions exist for wheat to be sown on all the planned areas which are some two hundred thousand hectares larger than last year. This year's sowing, if weather conditions are not outstandingly bad, should, even according to most modest expectations, yield some 5.5 million tons of wheat which will be sufficient to cover the domestic needs. Last year in Yugoslavia wheat was sown on one million 360 thousand hectares, but the production, due to bad weather conditions, was under the plan and totalled 4.3 million tons. The average wheat yields in Yugoslavia per hectare over the last six years totalled 32.2 metric centners. The best harvest was registered in 1974 when the overall yield totalled 6.2 million tons. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 0930 GMT 16 Nov 81 LD]